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Fighting fascism and racism internationally

Searchlight

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The violent world of Anders Breivik

Fuelled by political extremism and racial hatred

International experts report

International Conference

A Special Relationship of Hate? 50 years of the Anglo-American Far-Right

An International Conference convening at Park Campus, The University of Northampton
13-14 September 2012

KEYNOTING: Professor Leonard Weinberg (University of Nevada), Dr Martin Durham (University of Wolverhampton), and Leonard Zeskind (Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights) also presenting are Southern Poverty Law Centre, Show Racism the Red Card and Searchlight Magazine.

2012 is the 50th anniversary of the 'Cotswold Agreement' and the corresponding establishment of the World Union of National Socialists under the leadership of the UK's Colin Jordan and the USA's George Lincoln Rockwell (pictured above). Since then, numerous examples of postwar fascist 'internationalism' have emerged via the interrelated development of British and American far-right ideology, culture, aesthetics and practices. In the words of Professor Leonard Weinberg, this has led to a tightly-knit 'cultural and political affinity between right-wing extremist groups on both sides of the Atlantic, together with an increasing exchange of ideas, perspectives, forms of organization' and more. Ranging from music and dress to shared political agendas and strategies, and from neo-Nazism to Islamophobia and Tea Party nationalism, these affinities will be expansively traced by academics and a wide range of practitioners at this two-day international conference, to be hosted by The University of Northampton's Radicalism and New Media Research Group (www.radicalism-new-media.org).

Price: £60 for one day or £120 for both days including conference dinner.
To register contact Karin Ferngren **karin.ferngren@northampton.ac.uk**

Further details please contact Dr Paul Jackson
at **paul.jackson@northampton.ac.uk**
or log onto **www.radicalism-new-media.org**

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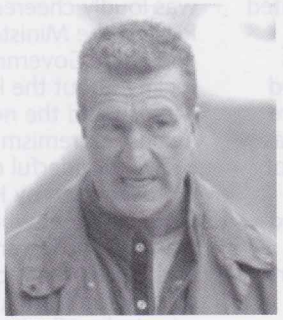

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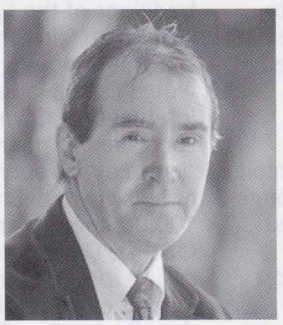

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THE MEANING OF BREIVIK

By Gerry Gable

THIS MONTH WE remember victims of terrorism and recognise that the terrorists' war against decent society continues today.

We have devoted 13 pages to Anders Breivik's terrorist attacks one year on, and while awaiting the verdict of his trial, expected later this month. We have invited several contributors to express their thoughts on the implications of Breivik's deeds and the lessons for countries faced with Islamophobic extremism. They were keen to write for us, seeing Searchlight as a highly regarded publication on issues of far-right politics.

Forty years ago Arab extremists carried out a murderous attack on the Israeli Olympic team in Munich. Between them and the incompetence of the German counter-terrorist forces, 11 Israeli athletes and coaches died. It has recently emerged that a young German Nazi was involved in preparations for the attack.

Set it in context: Israel had decided despite the Holocaust to go to Munich to show the world its understanding of the new Germany. When the Israelis marched around the stadium a mainly German audience of 80,000 greeted them with enormous enthusiasm.

Now, only days before this year's Olympic Games a holiday coach in Bulgaria carrying mainly young Israeli tourists was bombed by someone who appeared to be a European. The bombing took place almost on the anniversary of the 1994 bomb attack on a Jewish cultural centre in Buenos Aires that killed 85 people.

On Sunday 22 July hundreds of Londoners and overseas visitors gathered in east London to unveil a memorial plaque to the Israelis who died in Munich, an event organised with widespread support by Hackney councillor Linda Kelly and Martin Sugarman, a historian and archivist for the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and women.

Ben Helfgott, a Holocaust survivor who represented Great Britain as a weight lifter in the 1956 and 1960 Olympic Games, joined Boris Johnson, the Mayor of London, in unveiling the plaque. Many Second World War veterans attended with their banners and David Solomon, the last surviving London International Brigader, was loudly cheered for his presence. Eric Pickles, the Minister for Communities and Local Government, spoke with great feeling about the loss of the Israelis in Munich and the need for ongoing vigilance against extremism.

Two wonderful moments: a song with words written by Hannah Senesh, a Jewish SOE volunteer who parachuted into wartime Europe and was captured, tortured and put to death by the SS, was performed by children from a Jewish primary school who truly reflected today's Hackney, a mixture of black, white, brown, of all faiths and none; and a beautiful speech by Rosemia Brown, the vicar of St James Church. Both showed how the best traditions of the fight against racism and fascism are alive in our capital city.

It was a moving event, but one that would not have been necessary if the International Olympic Committee had consented to the request to hold a minute's silence at the opening ceremony, instead of ignoring a petition signed by over 100,000 people and pleas by President Obama, David Cameron and others. Those calling for the moment of remembrance did not even ask that the dead athletes be described as Israelis, only as 11 members of the Olympic Family.

I came home to watch on television the events in Olso and on Utøya island marking the anniversary of Breivik's atrocity, attended by thousands of Norwegians led by Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg and Eskil Pedersen, the leader of the Workers' Youth League, who survived the massacre. Both said Norway has emerged as a stronger democracy, a more accepting and open society, and not a more repressive one.

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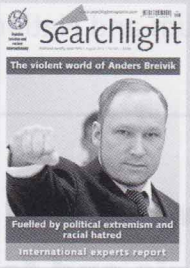
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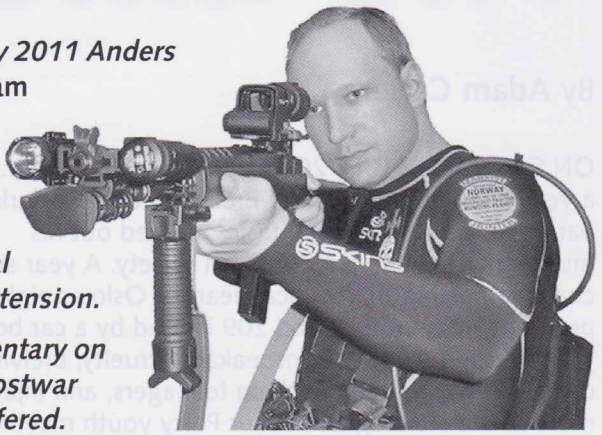
On Breivik



In the terrorist attacks on Oslo and the island of Utøya on 22 July 2011 Anders Behring Breivik killed 77 people and injured hundreds more, **Adam Carter** ***writes. A verdict after Breivik's 40-day trial is due on or before 24 August and a report on the events, commissioned by the Norwegian government, is expected in the next few weeks. Breivik's guilt is not in question but the court must rule on whether he is sane or not. He then faces either permanent mental care or a 21-year prison term with the possibility of indefinite extension.***

Over the next 12 pages, Searchlight provides a variety of commentary on the case, one of the worst examples of right-wing terrorism in postwar history and the worst terrorist incident that Norway has ever suffered.

BREVIK'S MURDEROUS RAMPAGE, *2083*, the rambling 1500 page manifesto which he released to 'justify' his actions, and the trial itself raise a whole range of significant issues including:

- the persistent threat of right-wing terrorism
- how sanity and insanity are viewed in court and in society
- the relationship between right-wing populists and violent extremists
- how states should respond to domestic terrorism
- the limits of tolerance and liberalism
- the role of the internet in fomenting radicalisation
- internationalisation of the 'counter-jihad' movement
- the 'healing process' in national tragedies
- Breivik's links to other international extremists
- How we can prevent a repeat of this tragedy.

Rather than trying to deal with all these extremely complex issue ourselves, *Searchlight* felt it would be far more productive to invite a selection of experts, academics, journalists and commentators to give us their thoughts on the implications of Breivik's appalling actions, the conduct of the trial, the wider implications for Norwegian society and the lessons for other countries faced with Islamophobic extremism. We gave our guest correspondents freedom to concentrate on the issues that they thought were particularly relevant and interesting. Aside from minor copy-editing, their contributions have been published as submitted.

In the first article we look at the unanswered questions from the trial: did Breivik belong to a group or act alone? What was the nature of his contact with other extremists in the UK and elsewhere? We then look at how Norway has responded to the terrible events and ask whether other countries could learn lessons from this approach. Dr Tad Tietze, an Australian psychologist and co-author of the first book published on the attacks *On Utøya* (reviewed in *Searchlight* in December 2011), provides a stimulating discussion of the issues surrounding the psychiatric evaluation of Breivik. Norwegian journalist and blogger Fredrik Walløe examines how his fellow countrymen and women will react to the verdict on Breivik's sanity. Anders Widfeldt, an academic expert on the Scandinavian far-right, explores the implications for the right-wing populist Progress Party of which Breivik was a member for around seven years. Markus Balázs Göransson, a Swedish researcher into conflict resolution, based in the UK, reflects on the ways in which Breivik was a product of his own society and what this tells us about our own values. In the final, most substantial, article Dr Paul Jackson analyses what lessons we can learn to prevent such a tragedy occurring again, with a rigorous investigation into the UK's own counter-terrorism strategy.

We think that these articles make for informative, challenging and powerful reading. *Searchlight* may not agree with every statement in each article but we feel that debate is important and these talented writers have provided an outstanding starting point for further discussion, analysis and investigation of many of the significant issues concerning Breivik.

We have not provided a timetable of events on the day of the attack, details of the victims, in-depth background on Breivik himself, or a day-by-day chronology of the trial. Although all these things are very important – particularly remembrance of the victims as individuals whose lives were callously cut short rather than merely a list of statistics – we unfortunately do not have the space here to devote to them and there are some excellent resources online published by the mainstream media which cover many of these issues.*

But we strongly believe that these contributions will make for informative, challenging and powerful reading. *Searchlight* may not agree with every statement in each article but we feel that debate is important and these talented writers have provided an outstanding starting point for further discussion, analysis and investigation of many of the significant issues regarding Breivik.

* See for example
http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14261716
http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/anders-behring-breivik
http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/norway/

The killer failed, the

By **Adam Carter**

ON SUNDAY 22 JULY 2012 Norway remembered. It was a year since Anders Behring Breivik, driven by dark paranoid Islamophobic fantasies, carried out his murderous assault on Norwegian society. A year since chaos reigned in the political heart of Oslo as eight people were murdered and 209 injured by a car bomb. A year since, in scenes of unspeakable cruelty, Breivik shot dead 69 people, most of them teenagers, and injured 33 more at the Norwegian Labour Party youth meeting on the picturesque island of Utøya. In Breivik's twisted view, his teenage victims were 'traitors' because they supported multiculturalism and Muslim immigration. The youngest victims were 14 years old. Norway remembered them all.

The Norwegian Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg spoke at a ceremony on Utøya to commemorate the victims. He was joined by cabinet members and hundreds of survivors, relatives and friends of the victims who were commemorated with songs, speeches and the release of a large, heart-shaped helium balloon to which they had attached personal messages. At the meeting, Stoltenberg reiterated the message of tolerance overcoming bigotry that has become his trademark, declaring: "For a long time we have neglected extremism and these thoughts full of hate. We can't close our eyes to them any more. We should counter blind hate with argument and education. In the past year, young people joined the service of democracy and responded to violence with activism. By meeting blind hatred with knowledge and reason, we have shown that democracy is stronger than its biggest threat."

The Prime Minister later addressed the assembled crowds outside the government headquarters in Oslo, which still visibly displays the damage caused by Breivik's bomb and the future of which is yet to be determined. After he and King Harald had laid down wreaths in the Norwegian national colours of red, white and blue, Stoltenberg spoke to the crowd and declared that "The bomb and bullets were aimed at changing Norway. The Norwegian people responded by embracing our values. The killer failed, the people won." He continued, "It's been a very heavy year for all of us. Not a day has passed the tragedy has not filled the room. The bomb and bullets were aimed at changing Norway. The Norwegian people responded by embracing our values. Let us honour the dead by being happy about the life they had, and the life we share."

Stoltenberg and many of his cabinet colleagues have consistently impressed observers with their calm, measured and thoughtful approach in responding to the tragedy. In the immediate aftermath of the tragedy, Stoltenberg famously addressed a gathering in Oslo cathedral and declared that "Our response is more democracy, more openness, and more humanity. Since then, a clear message has been delivered, and, it would seem, commendably accepted in Norwegian society, that the response to closed-mindedness and prejudice is more democracy and openness. In an interview in the *Daily Telegraph* recently Stoltenberg outlined his vision that it is necessary to counter extremism and hatred by standing up for democratic values. He stated: "He [Breivik] managed to cause lots of sorrow and damage, and many people will live with the wounds, but he failed in his main project, which was to change Norway, to make Norway less open, less tolerant. Because we have become actually the opposite, and in that way our democratic society won."

This is a praiseworthy rebuttal to the hatred embodied by the likes of Breivik and his supporters in the wide Islamophobic 'counter-jihad' and racist movements. It was reiterated in an article in the *New York Times* by Jonas Gahr Store, the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs, who also made some informative comments about the open legal process for Breivik's trial.

Store wrote: "Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg's reaction was unequivocal. He declared that Norway's strongest weapon in responding to this was to employ more openness and more democracy. Norwegians took up his call. Neither politicians nor the media turned it into a partisan political issue. The public reacted with grief but did not call for extraordinary measures. And the state chose to prosecute Brevik in an ordinary public court with full media coverage.

"Many outside Norway have questioned this. Does not responding with openness allow an extremist to broadcast his fanatical views? Does it not risk strengthening extremist movements? Why not create a special, closed legal setting? ... Without prejudice to the ongoing legal proceedings, I believe these are key questions. How we, as independent nations and as an international community, should fight violent political extremism is at the heart of politics in the 21st century.

"I also believe that Norway's experience after the attack has important lessons that may be relevant beyond our borders. Confronting and undermining the narratives and ideas of extremism must therefore be one of our key tasks. To do this, we must retain the courage of our convictions in the face of extremism. In this

people have won

context, it is a mistake to treat crimes committed by extremists as exceptions, subject to special processes. They must be held accountable in accordance with and to the full extent of the law. Hiding suspects from public view merely dehumanises the perpetrators and undermines any moral or judicial lessons. By contrast, prosecuting extremists who have committed crimes in a public courtroom makes it all the more shockingly clear that their horrific acts were undertaken by human beings, and that all of us must work every day to combat the ideas of extremism. This is not a soft approach. It requires and allows for tough security measures. But it is firmly anchored in the rule of law and the values of democracy and accountability."

Breivik's car bomb explodes outside the Norwegian government building

Store also claimed that this approach was supported by the younger generation of Norwegians including those who had survived the massacre and quotations from press reports seemed to endorse this.

Christin Bjelland, the mother of a survivor of the shootings, said the commemorations were especially important for the bereaved. "What happened here is so huge, there were so many affected, that I think it means a lot to come together for those who wish and feel the love and care between all the affected," she said.

"I think that people thought it a bit naïve to cling to these values of openness in a situation like that," said Vegard Groeslie Wennesland, a Labour Party activist who survived the attack. "But I think it's more naïve to think that brutal police or more restrictive policies will bring you a safer society."

For many Norwegians this belief in the need to defend their own values has become encapsulated in the slogan that many in the country have rallied around and which has come to exemplify the reaction to Breivik's massacre: "If one man can create so much hatred, imagine how much love we can create together?"

Terrorism is ultimately a political act (even if driven by religious fanaticism) and it aims to provoke a political reaction. The Norwegian response to Breivik's terrible crimes is not without its critics – especially in aspects of the judicial process – and we mention some of these criticisms in the other articles in this special issue of *Searchlight*, but it is surely preferable to the kneejerk authoritarian reaction of some states when they have suffered their own tragedies and their own problems with extremism.

By focusing and standing up for our own strong beliefs and values – democracy, tolerance, the rule of law, human rights, civil liberties etc – we can continue to provide an ideological, ethical, judicial and political resistance to intolerance and extremism whether it stems from Breivik and other racists and Islamophobes or from Islamists such as Al-Qaeda. Following the Norwegian example, the state's reaction to terrorist outrages should become even more sophisticated and based around upholding fundamental precepts and values rather than the siren call of more surveillance, the erosion of civil liberties and the demonisation of sections of society. Breivik's goal, just like that of the London nailbomber David Copeland during his bombing spree in 1999, was to increase intolerance, mistrust and fear and ultimately to start a racial call to arms. It is to their great credit that the Norwegian political leadership and, more significantly, large numbers of the general public have responded to this outrage by seeing higher ideals beyond the terrible immediate pain and suffering. From the depths of tragedy and despair, it appears that tolerance and belief in liberal democracy have flourished.

Was the Knights Templar a fantasy or a blueprint?

By **Adam Carter**

ANDERS BREIVIK'S 40-day trial surprised many non-Norwegian observers with its openness as much of it was held in public with reporters giving live updates on blogs, rolling news services and Twitter and some of the testimony was even televised. This openness meant that the prosecution case was outlined at great length and this will presumably be supplemented with the publication of the official government report into the attacks. Despite much of the evidence being made public, some questions remain unresolved and the purpose of this short article is to touch briefly on some areas that may need further investigation.

In particular it is necessary to look at the Knights Templar organisation, which Breivik repeatedly claimed that he belonged to, and his trips to Liberia and London in 2002.

In the autobiographical section of his manifesto, 2083, (p1378) Breivik claimed that after contact with Serbian 'cultural conservatives' on the internet, he was chosen as a member of a secret right-wing extremist group called **Pauperes commilitones Christi Templique Solomonici** (PCCTS) [Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon – in English], more commonly known as the Knights Templar (KT). He outlines the background to the group elsewhere in the manifesto (p817) claiming that it "was re-founded in London in 2002 by representatives from eight European countries, for the purpose of serving the interests of the free indigenous peoples of Europe and to fight against the ongoing European Jihad ... as a pan-European nationalist military order and a military/criminal tribunal".

According to both these accounts, "the founding session (two meetings consisting of 4 founding members and host as a security precaution) was held in London, UK – Apr, 2002."

Breivik claims in 2083 to have been at the original founding meeting in London in 2002 and two subsequent meetings in the Baltic states and to have visited an exiled Serbian "Crusader and war hero" in Liberia (whom he subsequently represented at the meeting in London). He also writes in the manifesto about a "close relationship" with an Englishman he calls "Richard", "who became my mentor".

Was any of this reality or was it just the product of a twisted mind that was prone to flights of narcissistic fantasy?

The prosecution pushed Breivik hard on the details in his manifesto as well other evidence about his travels. This is a significant part of the case as it makes an insanity verdict more likely if he is shown to be a fantasist. In court a flustered Breivik denied that he had made up everything about the KT but was forced to concede that he had embellished some of the details in *2083*. For example, the manifesto contains precise information on the apparent rules and structure of KT, its uniforms and its ranks – quite surprising for a group advocating leaderless resistance but not that surprising when one considers that Breivik was an addicted war gamer as well as a dedicated Islamophobe.

Police and passport records mentioned in court demonstrated that Breivik left Oslo on 17 April 2002, to fly to Ivory Coast before entering Liberia, posing as an aid worker. Breivik also alleged that he was using the 'cover' of an interest in diamonds to hide the real purpose of his trip. The prosecution however claimed that the purpose of the visit was not to link up with a Serbian extremist but was financial. Breivik transferred nearly $5,000 into a Liberian man's bank account and spent over $13,000 on his trip there, and was shown by phone records to be in contact with diamond dealers in the UK and elsewhere. The identity of or even the confirmed existence of the Serb contact has never been properly resolved despite several candidates being named in the press (such as convicted war criminal Milorad Ulemek).

Breivik insisted in court that that the London meeting had taken place as he described it but although receipts were produced for a visit to a café and a pub, when pressed on details about the KT he refused to say more than: "In principle it is not an organisation in a conventional sense," but a leaderless group consisting of "independent cells".

The press and anti-fascists have also investigated many of these claims and there is, to date, no indication that the KT meetings took place physically as Breivik described. However several British newspapers have alleged that Breivik's English 'mentor' may be Paul Ray, from Luton, Bedfordshire, a self-admitted founding father of the EDL who has since moved to Malta. Ray is a 'counter-jihad activist' who blogged under the name 'Lionheart' and one of his posts in 2007 called for the resurrection of the KT: "God will revive the ancient order of the Knights Templar and count me worthy to die amongst them in service of my God in protection of the Christian and Jewish world." It is distinctly probable that Breivik invented 'Richard' based on some kind of online contact with Ray which may just have amounted to reading his blog. Breivik's other alleged connections with the EDL also need further scrutiny.

Although the Knights Templar organisation probably only ever existed in Breivik's mind, his manifesto and public pronouncements are clearly intended to inspire others and it is likely that he wanted others to take up the struggle using the KT title as a *nom de guerre*. Several right-wing groups on the internet are already claiming to be Knights Templar so perhaps his fantasies have become reality.

Breivik, madness and the limits of liberal justice

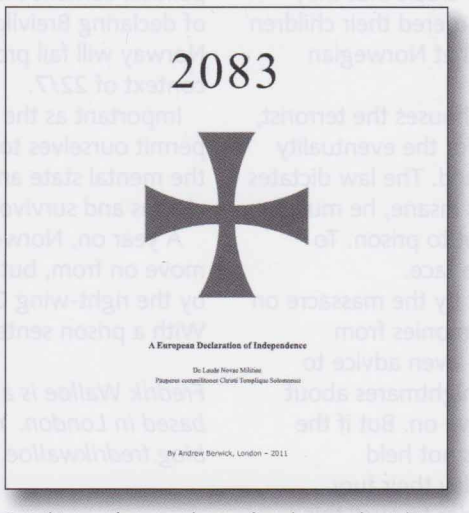
By **Tad Tietze**

A VERDICT IN THE TRIAL of Anders Breivik is expected on 24 August. Given that Breivik freely admits he murdered 77 people in Oslo and on Utøya Island, the main issue of contention is whether he should be found responsible for his crimes, or whether he is insane and needs detention in a high security psychiatric facility (purpose-built for him at great expense).

This explains the paradox of Breivik's defence, wanting to be found culpable, while the prosecution have argued there is enough doubt about his sanity for him to be psychiatrically committed. Under Norwegian law, one only needs a reasonable suspicion of insanity to be considered not culpable. This contrasts with most Anglo-Saxon countries, where to be found not guilty by reason of insanity requires harder evidence of mental disorder.

On the face of it, Norway's system reflects a liberal humanism that seems light years ahead of the punitive approach to crime in much of the West. However, the Breivik case has tested such legal-psychiatric approaches and found them wanting. In particular, such approaches obscure the political origins and consequences of his crimes, paradoxically serving to normalise far-right, Islamophobic politics by demarcating Breivik from them on the grounds of his mental state. This is certainly a defence many of the right-wingers Breivik quotes have been quick to claim.

The initial forensic psychiatric report on Breivik was written by two of Norway's most eminent experts in the field. The psychiatrists admitted they knew little of the right-wing subcultures and ideologies that shaped Breivik's stated motivations, and so simply chose not to examine them any further. They stretched the usage of psychiatric terms such as "bizarre delusions" and "neologisms" when Breivik espoused ideas and words common in far-right circles. Similarly, his understandable fears of being monitored by police were "paranoid delusions". His personal history was scoured for evidence of madness, but little was made of his extensive political associations. The experts were unable to explain how someone with "paranoid schizophrenia" could successfully carry out two major terrorist attacks on a single day and, perhaps most ludicrously, they rated his level of function in a range defined as "inability to function in almost all areas (e.g. stays in bed all day; no job, home, or friends)".



Breivik's manifesto: evidence of madness or far-right involvement?

During my psychiatric training it was always stressed how important context is to differentiating minority beliefs from actual insanity, yet to see two eminent forensic psychiatrists get it so obviously wrong suggests that the appalling nature of Breivik's beliefs and actions led them to explain a profoundly political act in medical terms, perhaps for lack of comprehension that such things could be done by someone of sound mind.

A subsequent report concluded that Breivik is not psychotic. Either way, the overwhelming focus on his mental state is problematic, as if his particular crime – the targeted killing of members of the Norwegian Labour Party – could have occurred disconnected from the rise of the Islamophobic right. Breivik's 1,500-page manifesto makes clear how common most of his ideas are in the right-wing blogosphere and that the mass killing was intended to radicalise the right and strike terror in the hearts of its "cultural Marxist" enemies.

There is a wider problem, which is that liberal legal systems are designed to adjudicate on the actions of individuals, with only secondary regard for the socio-political influences involved. Thus, political crimes are reduced to being crimes just like any others. Whatever effect this has on Breivik's fate, it creates a false separation between political ideas and actions that leads to complacency about the danger posed by the Islamophobic right. Media coverage has similarly been dominated by a fascination with Breivik's mind rather than the threat posed by the far right, which tends to be minimised.

Yet the last decade reveals how such an approach is a matter of choice for media and political elites. Their treatment of terrorist crimes committed by radical Islamists has been brazenly political, used to smear entire populations, justify the limitation of democratic rights, and provide cover for military adventures that cost countless lives (Norway is part of the NATO occupation of Afghanistan). That Breivik and the ideologues who inspired him not only applaud such treatment of Muslim "others" but think it has not gone far enough should make us consider how much mainstream discussion of Breivik's sanity is itself an attempt to separate the actions of Western states from their consequences in terms of the rise of Islamophobic extremism.

Tad Tietze is a psychiatrist working in Sydney, Australia. He is co-editor (with Elizabeth Humphrys and Guy Rundle) of On Utøya: Anders Breivik, Right Terror, Racism and Europe. He blogs at http://left-flank.org/

Can we tolerate an insanity verdict?

By **Fredrik Walløe**

ANDERS BEHRING BREIVIK laughed as he criss-crossed Utøya on 22 July 2011, hunting down defenceless teenagers, executing many of them with a shot to the head. There is something wrong with the man who murdered 77 civilians and sat through the testimonies from survivors without the slightest hint of empathy or regret – as his own lawyers were unable to hold back their tears.

Norwegians are divided in their views about the terrorist's mental state, but are in no doubt about what the verdict of his trial should be: three out of four want Breivik jailed, according to an opinion poll by the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation.

Behind the calm façade, Norwegians harbour a deep loathing for the man who brought a pain upon this nation that can scarcely be described. And it is to their credit that they defied their desire to see the man who murdered their children hanged, in order to uphold the principles that Norwegian society rests on.

But within the walls of Ila prison, which houses the terrorist, a private mental hospital has been set up for the eventuality that the verdict states he cannot be punished. The law dictates that if there is any possibility that Breivik is insane, he must be sent to compulsory psychiatric care and not to prison. To many, that outcome would be a slap in the face.

For a year, we've witnessed the pain left by the massacre on Utøya and the blast in Oslo. Through testimonies from survivors and stories about those we lost – even advice to parents on how to handle their children's nightmares about the child-killer – Norway has begun to move on. But if the man who brought this pain into our lives is not held responsible, Norwegians might finally display their fury.

Breivik's behaviour in court makes it harder to quell this thirst for partial justice, because sane or not, it's hard to believe that he is incapable of grasping what he has done, yet empathy appears to be beyond him. His plan wasn't to murder 77 people, but to stir enough terror on the island for the over 500 people on it to flee into the water and drown, the mass murderer told a shocked courtroom in August. Fortunately, as one of the survivors pointed out, Norwegians can swim.

The frames established by the court might help Breivik appear saner than he actually is, Tor Ketil Larsen, professor of psychiatry at Stavanger University hospital and experienced forensic psychiatrist, told me near the end of the trial. By the time Breivik entered the courtroom, he had received over 200 pages of feedback on his media strategy, in the form of the first psychiatric evaluation, which declared him criminally insane.

Throughout the trial, he adapted in response to media coverage and reactions from those present in the courtroom. The decision to stop his daily right-wing salute is a notable example.

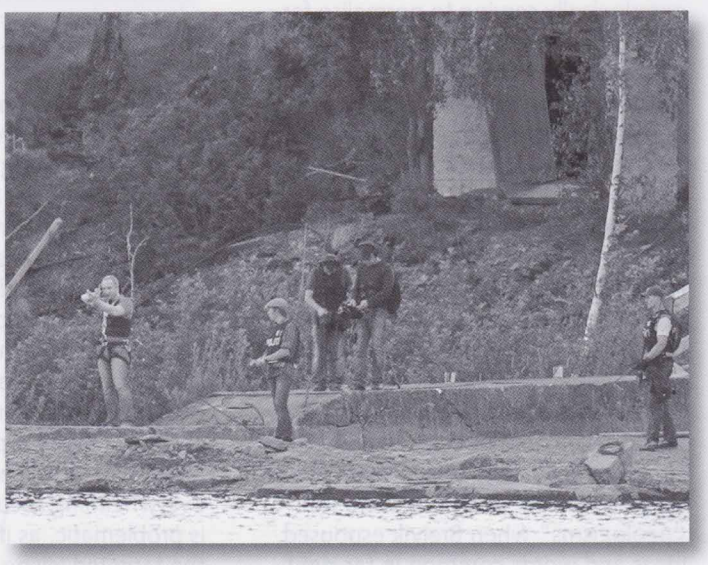
The man who demanded a medal for murdering 77 people and wished to appear in court wearing a homemade uniform, increasingly played down some of his more bizarre ideas as the trial progressed. But I see no sign of regret in Breivik, nor any other reason to believe that the decision to tone down his testimony and behaviour is anything but a tactic.

Perhaps, in our eagerness not to give the terrorist a platform from which to spread his hatred, we missed an opportunity to let him discredit himself. Unpleasant as it would be to hear about things like the breeding camps he envisioned – where the DNA of ethnic Norwegians would be tested to ensure that those with the highest racial purity bred – it would help illuminate his mental state and discredit the nonsensical political context that motivated him. Perhaps the main danger of declaring Breivik insane is that it increases the risk that Norway will fail properly to examine and confront the political context of 22/7.

Important as the verdict on his sanity is though, we mustn't permit ourselves to forget that this case is not merely about the mental state and odd beliefs of Breivik, but also about the victims and survivors of his political extremism.

A year on, Norwegians appear strongly united in wanting to move on from, but not forget, the terrible crimes committed by the right-wing Christian terrorist Anders Behring Breivik. With a prison sentence, that just might be within reach.

Fredrik Walløe is a Norwegian freelance journalist and writer based in London. You can read more on blog.fredrikwalloe.com and follow him on Twitter (@fwalloe).



Breivik (left) is brought back to Utøya under armed police guard to reconstruct his shooting spree

Where now for the Progress Party?

By **Anders Widfeldt**

THE YEAR 2011 was an *annus horribilis* for the Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet). A former chair of the party's youth organisation and member of the party executive was charged with sexual offences (the legal process is not yet concluded). Leader Siv Jensen was strongly criticised for her handling of the affair by an internal party commission. There were other allegations about sexual misconduct, which led to bad press although no charges were brought. There was a public spat between Jensen and her predecessor Carl I Hagen, who could not hide his disappointment at not being chosen as the party's representative on the Nobel Peace Prize committee.

And then there was Anders Behring Breivik. His former Progress Party membership (1999 to 2006) brought the worst imaginable publicity, across the whole world. The party found the situation difficult to handle. Jensen had to backtrack from a statement in which she had said that attempts to link Breivik's actions to the party were as terrible as the atrocities themselves. In a parliamentary debate later in the year, Jensen's deputy Per Sandberg accused the Labour Party of acting as victims, and was forced into a humiliating apology.

The local and regional elections, held a month and a half after Breivik's atrocities, brought the party its worst result in a nationwide election since 1993, although it is worth remembering that the opinion polls looked negative even before 22 July. In 2012 the party has recovered somewhat, but the most recent polls still put it well below the 22.9% it got in the 2009 parliamentary election.

Of course, the party has tried to dissociate itself from Breivik. He never held any prominent party positions. He left several years before he committed his crimes. His bizarre ideas and violent methods have nothing to do with Progress Party "liberalistic" ideology.

The party has also tried to keep other extreme-right parties at arm's length. Siv Jensen has delineated her party from the Danish People's Party as well as the Sweden Democrats. To some extent she has a point. Her party's manifesto does not refer to the "high birth rate" of immigrants, as is the case with the Danish People's Party. The Progress Party has not had an unrepentant Waffen-SS veteran in a responsible position, as the Sweden Democrats did in its early years.

And Jensen has, to my knowledge, never claimed that immigrants "multiply like rabbits", which Pia Kjaersgaard in Denmark has been quoted saying. Indeed, Jensen was called "spineless" by Kjaersgaard for suggesting after 22 July that, maybe, the Progress Party ought to reassess the way it frames the immigration issue.

But it is questionable what such a reassessment, if it happens, will amount to. The Progress Party's rhetoric on immigration and Islam has not been a vote-loser, and the party is unlikely to turn to what Hagen called *dumsnill* ("silly-kind" or gullible) politics. Despite the indifferent poll ratings it is difficult to see how the Progress Party could be kept out of government if the 2013 election ends in a centre-right majority. The centre-right parties that oppose this are now too small to have any veto power.

Progress Party leader Siv Jensen: Breivik was a party member for seven years

Once in government, Jensen and her colleagues will be able to exert concrete influence. It would then be interesting to compare developments in Norway with what happened in Denmark from 2001 to 2011, when Kjaersgaard's party significantly influenced the centre-right government.

There are important differences between the Progress Party and the Danish People's Party. The Norwegian party is further to the right on economic policy, and the Danish party is further to the right on immigration. But the Progress Party is to the right of all other Norwegian parties on all issues, and there is every reason to expect that this will show if the party gets into government.

It would obviously not be fair to equate the Progress Party with Breivik. But it is worth remembering that Breivik was not kicked out of the party for being extreme, but because he stopped paying his membership dues. For all we know, he could have carried on in the party until 21 July last year had he just continued paying. This in a party known for its ruthlessness against dissenters.

The answer is, of course, that Breivik kept such a low profile that nobody noticed what ideas he may have had when he was in the party. But surely there must be some memory of him in the party. When such memories reach the public domain, we may be able to better understand not only Breivik, but also the inner life of one of the most successful populist right parties in Europe.

Dr Anders Widfeldt is a lecturer in Politics at the University of Aberdeen

Breivik: a perverted

By **Markus Balázs Göransson**

AS A SWEDE, I followed the trial of Anders Behring Breivik, Norway's terrorist and mass murderer, closely through the Swedish press. I was shocked by what happened in Norway last summer and have read transcripts of the court proceedings and other reports to try to understand better how it was possible for it to take place.

I remember being stupefied when I first heard about the killings. I never imagined that such a thing could happen in Norway, which had always seemed to me the most perfect place in the world. It was as if evil had stepped into paradise. And I could not get my head around the fact that an intelligent and well-to-do person, who had grown up in that society, could turn against it, devoting all his energies, all his resources – indeed his entire life – to killing as many of its members as possible.

Sometimes people imply that to understand is to condone, but surely you condemn someone all the more powerfully if you first understand what drove them to commit their crime – all their weaknesses, all their delusions, their arrogance, narcissism and inhumanity. I think that it would be a disservice to his victims if Breivik was treated like a caricature, a straw man fit only for vilification and dehumanisation. His crime prompts difficult questions that we cannot skirt around by claiming that he is evil incarnate or that he is mentally ill.

With that in mind, I think that the Swedish media – and I imagine the Norwegian media too – did an outstanding job in covering the trial. There was not an ounce of sympathy for what Breivik did, yet there was a great deal of effort in trying to understand how he could commit his heinous crimes. In a way we are compelled to try to understand him, because he is one of us: he speaks a language that we can understand and has grown up in a society and culture similar to our own. He is a mirror of us, and we find ourselves staring fixedly into that mirror to try to understand what, after all, sets him apart from us.

One thing that makes Breivik such a disturbing person is that little in his life story seems to have predestined him to become the worst mass murderer in Norway's postwar history. Yes, he had a difficult relationship with his father, and, yes, psychiatrists feared for his mental health when he was four years old, but that is light years from saying that he was bound to do what he did.

Discussions about his mental health do not give much comfort. One psychiatric examination found him to be paranoid schizophrenic and hence not accountable for his crimes, but another concluded that he had no serious psychological disorder. Breivik himself insists, heatedly, that he is completely sane. Some experts believe that he has an empathic disorder, otherwise he would not have been capable of carrying out his crime, as one Swedish psychiatrist put it. Breivik denies this too, claiming that he can switch his empathy on and off and that he has learned to keep his emotions in check through meditation and various other strategies.

While it is difficult to imagine that a person with a healthy sense of empathy can kill 77 people in cold blood, I think that these discussions are, to an extent, beside the point. It is true that the state of Breivik's mental health is an important part of the puzzle of why he could commit the massacres in Oslo and Utøya, but it should not blind us to the fact that he is still a human being, like ourselves, who very deliberately took a series of steps to commit mass murder.

One of the things that struck me in his testimony is the importance accorded to his ideas about cultural Marxism and Islamicisation. He talked about having submitted to these ideas, turning himself into a "foot soldier of the conservative nationalist revolution", and described his actions as the logical outcomes of a diagnosis that Norway and Europe are being threatened by cultural relativism and Islamic immigration. He said that he sacrificed his freedom and reputation in order to serve the higher agenda of cleansing Europe of alien influences and restoring its essential Christian identity. In his mind, this agenda is more important than either the lives of his victims or his own morality.

"One hundred voices told me 'don't do it, don't do it'," he said during the trial when describing how he killed his first victims on Utøya. "Taking a person's life is the most difficult thing you can do ... It goes against human nature," he said later.

übermensch

And yet he did it. Sixty-seven times he shot and killed a human being, usually at close range, sometimes when they were begging for their lives. He defiled his human nature to put himself at the service of an idea, blinding himself to his own and his victims' humanity in order to carry out an atrocity.

He strikes me as a kind of modern-day Raskolnikov, the protagonist of Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, so seized by an idea that it trumps, in his mind, every human instinct, every predilection for empathy and restraint. Where Raskolnikov's world view was warped by sickness, poverty and the nihilistic discussions in the student community in St Petersburg, Breivik drew his intellectual nourishment from online extremist forums, visited from a computer hooked up in the posher parts of Oslo or near the isolated farm where he was preparing for his crime.

And like Raskolnikov, Breivik is guilty of staggering arrogance, believing that he has seen the truth and been compelled to act according to it. He is persuaded that it was through will power alone that he transcended his human inhibitions, which would otherwise have weakened him and prevented him from doing what was right. He does not realise that, most of all, it was his fanaticism that blinded him, giving him that tunnel vision that removed every shred of doubt, every inkling of modesty and humility that might have prompted in him the questions, "What if I am wrong? What if the world is more complex than I can comprehend?"

A defiant Breivik gives the far-right clenched fist salute on the first day of his trial

No such doubts seem to have figured in his world view. The propaganda movie that he released on the day of his crime moved him to tears when he saw it in court, yet it is a badly argued and horribly produced piece, with gaping logical leaps and factual flaws (not to mention that some of the text in it has been cut and pasted from Wikipedia).

To think that the ideas conveyed by that clip inspired in him the passion to commit his massacres defies reason. Yet somehow they did. Somehow in his intellectual self-isolation he gradually stopped seeing people as people but instead as pawns in a struggle between abstract ideals. People were accidental to this struggle, mere carriers of the ideas that truly mattered. And for this reason they could be disposed of, in the same manner that fanatics around the world are prepared to eliminate people who get in the way of the higher objective. It was the triumph of abstraction over life and humanity, the victory of arrogance over humility and self-questioning.

Maybe one day Breivik will realise the utter vacuity and horror of what he did. If that day comes, I think his soul will be torn to shreds.

Markus Balázs Göransson is a conflict researcher who is currently studying for a PhD in international politics at Aberystwyth University.

'I'd just be the spark, that's all I would plan to be'. How well are we 'preventing' far right terrorism?

By **Dr Paul Jackson**

IN THE WAKE of the Anders Breivik trial, we are again reminded that the terror threat posed by the far right is an important issue. Yet Government policy, and especially its Prevent Strategy, remains curious here. The Home Office website for 'Prevent' is clear that: "The current threat level to the UK from international terrorism is severe. The most significant international terrorism threat to the UK remains violent extremism associated with and influenced by Al Qa'ida." We could make many arguments around this point, including stressing that terrorism from far right groups now responds to perceived threats from Al Qa'ida. But I do not contest the basic need to be deeply concerned with Islamist terrorism. This is a very real issue.

Nevertheless, what is problematic about being so bold with regard to the threat from Islamism is that it sends out a coded message that other threats are of no real importance. Though one hopes that this is not the case, regularly this is the challenge faced by people on the ground who implement Prevent strategies, practitioners who see around them many local issues marked by the grievances of the far right. Moreover, this concern is only accentuated (in the author's mind at least) when he hears high-end figures at conferences discussing security policy in an 'off the record' manner, and who suggest that the state can only really handle one security threat at a time. Indeed, I have also listened to Home Office officials, who seem incredibly knowledgeable on Islamist issues, come unstuck when even recounting basic information on far right threats – such as whether the Aryan Strike Force was a 'lone wolf' outfit, or a larger organisation.

Prevent and the far right

Prevent was set up as part of a wider counter terrorism policy reconfiguration in the wake of the 7/7 attacks. So perhaps it was always going to be concerned with tackling the type of terrorism that directly inspired it. This would have been no bad thing if it had also allowed for fresh attention to be given to violent extremism from other sources – a category which includes the far right but others too. Symbolically, when its various engagement projects were delivered to state workers (such as teachers, local police forces, hate crime officials in councils and the like) overviews of Prevent's aims would talk about Islamism as one core issue among many. Moreover, it was stressed that the central point of Prevent was to nip all cultures that promoted 'violent extremism' in the bud, tackling terrorism by attacking its root causes, challenging the politically marked cultures that could inspire extremists.

Yet it soon became clear that Islamist related schemes would get funding, while projects concerned with tackling cultures of far right sympathy would, at best, play second fiddle. In some areas, funding Islamist related projects would be quite correct. There were few far right concerns locally, and money used to build up resilience to Islamist threats was well deployed. Nevertheless, as the policy was rolled out nationally, there were problems too. Sometimes, Prevent projects would get a bad press, with suggestions that the state was spying on Muslim communities, and so interventions became counter-productive. Sometimes, the local problems of radicalisation genuinely came from the far right as much as from Islamists, yet the far right was not built into the policy's funding streams. And finally, as the state so overtly targeted Muslims, many communities felt unnecessarily singled out. Resentment simmered among Muslims, who felt doubly victimised, especially as their local far right persecutors were not being challenged in a similar manner.

The shifting sands of the far right

As if to underscore the problem, 2009 saw the English Defence League quickly grow into the largest street-marching far right organisation Britain has seen for a generation. It became clear among analysts of the far

The University of Northampton's Radicalism and New Media research group (www.radicalism-new-media.org) is an unaffiliated academic research and consultancy unit formed in 2009. It has worked on several projects with *Searchlight*, most notably *Lone Wolves: Myth or Reality?* and *Far-Right.com* (both appearing in 2011), and is grateful to the editors of *Searchlight* magazine for the opportunity to provide monthly independent comment in these pages.

right that ultra-nationalist movements and Islamists were entering into a process of direct 'tit-for-tat' radicalisation. They fed of each other's extremist positions, and entered into a dynamic that we can still see today. For far right radicalisation, this has been particularly significant.

Moreover, Leese was important as his writings promoted the full extremes of Nazism's biological hatred of Jews – a particularly virulent strand of fascism that the IFL endorsed more fulsomely than even the anti-Semitic British Union of Fascists. Nevertheless, Leese's impact in the interwar period was ultimately limited; his profile eclipsed by that of Mosley and the BUF. Leese's most high-profile encounter was in 1936, when he was sentenced to six months in prison for publishing materials alleging the continued practice of Jewish ritual murder. He was also interned along with other British fascists in 1940, and even went on hunger strike – though in his autobiography he boasted of secretly eating, but not letting on to the authorities.

Yet within policy thinking there has always been a disconnect between the EDL and what was understood as the 'far right'. Many figures contributing to policy debates felt they knew what the 'far right' was – in sum, neo-Nazis saluting and waving swastika flags. They also felt they knew what the EDL was about: a network of football hooligans gravitating around a populist, but not really a political, cause. So via a narrow and outdated understanding of the 'far right' framing the policy debate, it has always been difficult to argue to higher end state officials that the EDL was a distinct and newer type of 'far right' movement, one that did not necessarily fit the earlier stereotypes, but was still clearly 'far right'.

'Old' and 'new' forms of the far right

To help make the case that the EDL was part of a distinctly new wave of far right activity, I developed a simplified distinction in the report I co-authored last year, *The E.D.L.: Britain's 'New Far Right' Social Movement*. Here I set out an 'old' and a 'new' far right: the 'old' far right that is essentially neo-Nazi in inspiration (such as the British National Party or Blood & Honour); while the 'new' far right is, at bottom, Islamophobic, (exemplified by the EDL). I also stressed that Anders Breivik's atrocities reveal that an extreme variant of this deeply Islamophobic, or 'new', far right, can lead to violent extremism of the very worst kind. Every bit as horrific as previous Islamist and far right attacks in Britain, such as 7/7 suicide bombers or David Copeland's nail bombs.

Yet there still remains confusion. Though Breivik publically rejected neo-Nazism in a similar fashion to the EDL's agenda, and epitomised in more extreme form the ultra-patriotic Islamophobia that the EDL has developed in

The 'new' far-right English Defence League grew by feeding off Islamist extremism
Photo: Daphne Liddle

Britain, it is still difficult to get people to fully appreciate that the 'new' far right might actually pose a threat to the UK. The position remains that the culture fostered by the EDL is not 'really' far right. Though a concern to the state in terms of expensive policing operations, it is regularly thought that such a movement does not really pose a threat with regard to far right violent extremism. In other words, the EDL has always been dismissed merely as a bunch of apolitical football hooligans, and so not directly relevant to the activities of Prevent. This is a very myopic perspective.

The EDL's culture of political violence

Yet a cursory glance over the EDL's website reveals a range of issues that gravitate around a clearly political cause, typical of Europe's 'new' far right. The theme of extreme, conspiracy-theory-based Islamophobia is clearly rampant in the movement's materials; its message board and Facebook chatter creates a climate that regards all mainstream political and state institutions as essentially corrupt; and it revels in a populist ultra-patriotism (again by demonising Muslims), and so develops an exclusionary sense of Britishness that, once unpacked, promotes blatant racism. Now a highly emotive, extreme form of nationalism, combined with a demonised scapegoat figure, and a total rejection of the political mainstream, are the core features of a far right perspective – so, regardless of the extent to which neo-Nazism may or may not pepper the thinking of a selection of its leaders and followers, the EDL must be seen as a far right movement.

The Prevent Strategy website also claims that "Prevent

will tackle non-violent extremism where it creates an environment conducive to terrorism and popularises ideas that are espoused by terrorist groups". More is needed here as, in reality, the relationship between the type of populist Islamophobia that the EDL promotes, and the type found in Anders Breivik's manifesto are quite fuzzy. For example, in his manifesto, Breivik talks of a 'Vienna School' of bloggers, based on the writings of ideologues such as Fjordmann and others who write for the Gates of Vienna website and describe a Muslim conspiracy to overtake Europe. These messages are often carbon copies of the equally political messages found on the EDL's own webpages. So though it is in decline, tackling the EDL's only ostensibly non-violent messages must be seen as a core part of Prevent's remit of challenging cultures that promote terrorism. Clearly, the EDL is a political movement that helps to popularise ideas that are also espoused by terrorists. After all, under the pseudonym 'Sigurd Jorsafare' Breivik chatted on EDL forums, his membership number here being 3614, and so most definitely identified with the movement.

The openly Nazi Aryan Strike Force radicalised hundreds until its main protagonists were arrested in 2009

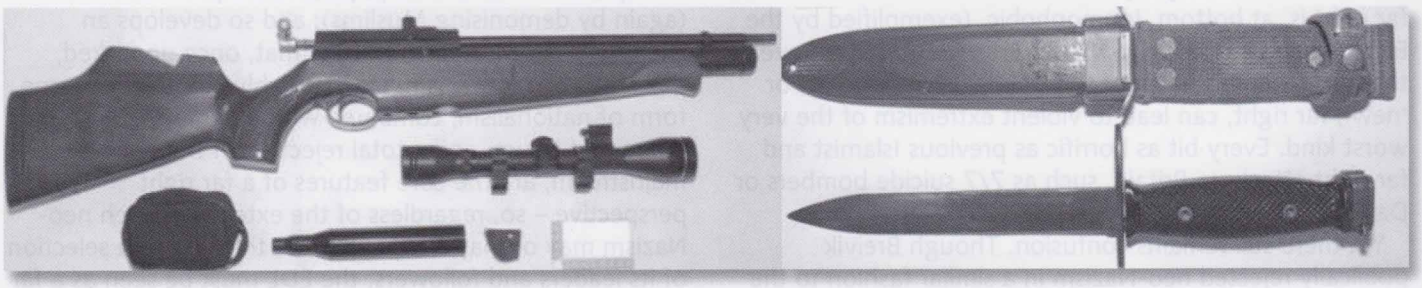
(above) The bedroom of ASF member Michael Heaton

'Hosting' extremists is promoting extremism

A potentially helpful term here for describing more extreme figures set within a wider movement is 'host organisation'. Organisations that promote an ideology that inspires extremism and hate, yet where the leadership does not actively condone violence, will nevertheless inevitably promote violent direct action among a selection of their followers. In this regard, the EDL has become a key 'host organisation' for a wide range of criminality, and at a grass roots level, individual supporters regularly feel inspired to take things 'further', often by becoming violent. Moreover, we should remember that threats of politicised 'violent extremism' are not necessarily terrorist spectaculars that make national newspaper headlines. The term also includes smaller scale, yet still clearly violent, politicised attacks. Numerous such incidents have been attributed to EDL followers, often legitimised in the perpetrators' eyes by defending the nation against a mythical 'Muslim invasion', the core political theme promoted by both the EDL and figures such as Breivik.

Moreover, the EDL is far from the only organisation of concern. The more clearly neo-Nazi BNP has acted as a 'host organisation' for violent extremism in the past too, and probably still does. The most notorious case here is that of David Copeland, who joined the BNP before turning to the more extremist National Socialist Movement. In combination with the NSM's Tony Williams, he went on to develop his own terrorist operation, in the end killing three and injuring over a hundred. Though this was not directed by the BNP, for Copeland there remained a clear connection between his violent 'vanguard' activity, and the wider 'nationalist' movement. As he put it to interviewers after the attacks:

"I'd just be the spark, that's all I would plan to be – the spark that would set fire to this country. 'Cos every nutter out there now, if he wants to get on the news, he's gonna have to blow something up .... my aim was political. It was to cause a racial war in this country. There'd be a backlash from the ethnic communities, then the white



Items found at the home of Trevor Hannington, another ASF member

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people would go out and vote BNP. Do you know what I mean? It's obvious."

So the perceived connection between a violent 'elite' force and the wider 'nationalist' movement, in the mind of the far right terrorist, is clear to see here. The extremist milieu developed by the BNP, as well as the NSM, offered a solo-actor terrorist a vital community of support helping him carry out his attack.

There is no need to detail here the range of cases where the BNP has acted as a 'host organisation' for such extremists in recent years. Readers who want to find out more can turn to the report published by Gerry Gable and myself last year, *Lone Wolves? Myth or Reality*, available on the *Searchlight* website. This document offers a series of instances where BNP followers have taken things 'further', become actively violent, and so again we see the pattern of violent extremism emerging from the far right.

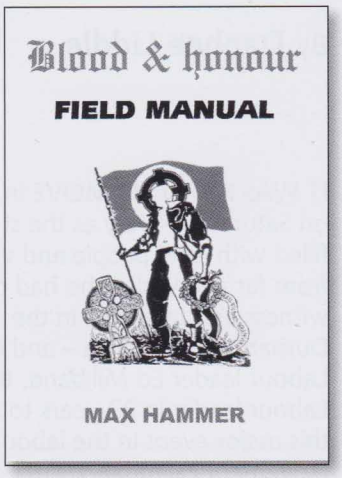
Recognising the current 'old' far right

While the two larger groups the EDL and the BNP, can both be seen as worrying 'host organisations', we must not forget that the more openly neo-Nazi far right also poses a clear threat. This category includes activists associated with, or who loosely identify with, clandestine groups such as the (now defunct) Aryan Strike Force, Blood & Honour, the Racial Volunteer Force and Combat 18. It remains far less problematic to make a case that such groups promote 'violent extremism'. A mere glance over the *Blood & Honour Field Manual*, available online, includes the following advice for activists:

"The underground cell should also carefully plan its operations and avoid any contact with those engaged in the legal part of the struggle – for its own security's sake but also not to jeopardise the ordinary political work by linking these organisations to subversive violence and what might be labelled as terrorism."

Clearly, the material promoted by such groups is deeply concerning.

Moreover there is a growing connection between former Islamophobic far right activists and this older variant of far right ideology, steeped in neo-Nazism. The Infidels offshoot of the EDL has turned from Islamophobic to neo-Nazi concerns, embracing notorious antisemitic materials in the process, such as *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. Moreover, this neo-Nazi culture has a range of telltale signs, such as the '14 Words', White Power symbolised by a Celtic Cross, key numbers such as 18 (Adolf Hitler), 28 (Blood & Honour) and 88 (Heil Hitler), as well as quasi-faiths such as Wotanism.



Yet these often mean little to most people, and so professionals who have to implement Prevent would be well served if they were supported in developing a greater awareness of these esoteric signs, and the peculiar ideologies that lie behind them.

Moreover, there remains a tendency to downplay even these far right terrorist-leaning groups. I recently heard the Aryan Strike Force described by a Home Office official as a mere father and son outfit. In reality, it radicalised hundreds via a complex range of websites, and had a larger core leadership team. Moreover, though there was a notable amateurism about the movement, the same could be said about many Islamist threats too. In sum, policymakers need to stop being dismissive about such groups. Amateurs can kill too.

Raising awareness: the way forward

Challenging the cultures developed by far right movements, by and large, is all about raising awareness of core ideologies and common tactics. Via Prevent, the state can help tackle the far right by offering greater support to those who regularly encounter its supporters, such as teachers, social workers, police officers, probation officers, and so forth. Indeed, as the case of the Aryan Strike Force suggests, once a group planning terrorism is uncovered, the police and judiciary can deal with them. So one excellent way to help 'prevent' threats from the far right developing into possible future attacks is to encourage those already employed by the state on the front line to know more about the far right. Monitoring the far right can only be as solid as the data that can be generated by those on the ground doing the monitoring. Moreover, the networks developed by Prevent to date are often rather well placed to do more to challenge the far right.

Finally, educating in more detail our front line on the nuances of the far right is not only necessary, but also cheap in comparison with many counter-terrorism strategies. There is great willingness among Prevent officials of various stripes on the ground to do more about the far right. So one measured way to respond to the lessons of the Breivik case in Britain is to make sure this happens as a matter of standard practice.

Progress group booed

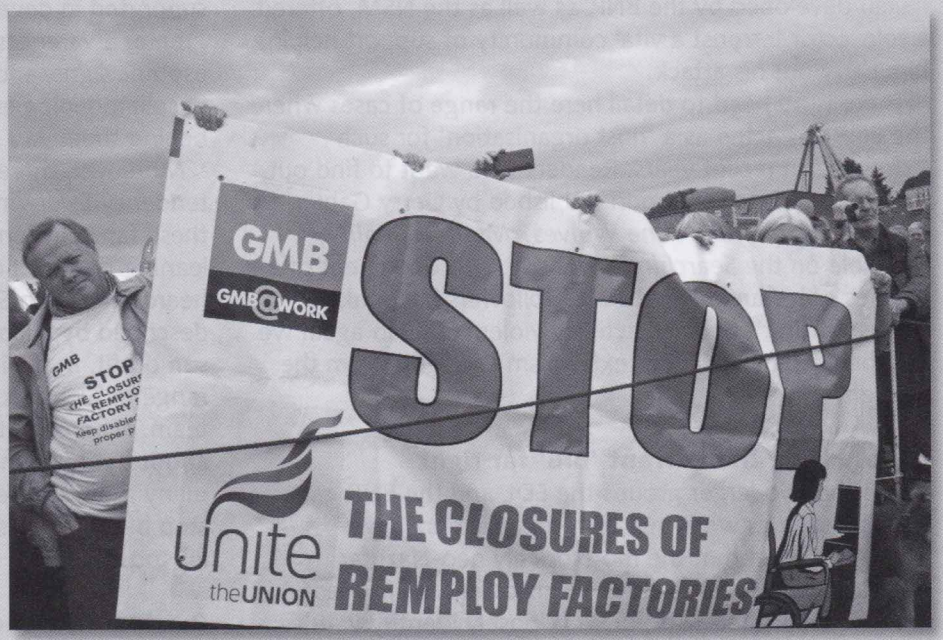
By **Daphne Liddle**

IT WAS HARD TO MOVE in Durham on Saturday 14 July as the streets filled with local people and visitors from far and wide who had come to witness and take part in the 128th Durham Miners' Gala – and to hear Labour leader Ed Miliband, the first Labour leader in 23 years to attend this major event in the labour movement calendar.

But there was a long list of very good speakers before Miliband stood up to speak. And they laid some serious demands and challenges before him.

Labour MP Tom Watson, who played a leading role in the Commons Select Committee on Culture, Sports and Media in bringing the corrupt practices of the Rupert Murdoch media empire into the light of day, stressed the importance of keeping and strengthening the links between the Labour Party and the trade unions.

"The unions gave birth to the Labour Party and children should respect their parents," he said, "even when they say things you don't like," he told the crowd and Miliband. He criticised New Labour for distancing itself from the unions and called on Miliband to work more closely with them.



Unions campaign against cuts to disabled workers' employment

Union lawyer John Hendy addressed his detailed account of the anti-union laws that effectively deny workers in Britain the right to strike to Ed Miliband, clearly in the hope of eliciting a promise to abolish them.

Mark Serwotka, general secretary of the civil service union PCS, gave a very different speech to the one he made of a few weeks ago at the National Shop Stewards' Network conference. At the Gala he spoke of the huge number of people his union now represents in the Durham area and Tyneside and how many are on very low wages and suffering deeply because of Con-Dem Coalition cuts. He called for a cap on rents rather than cuts in housing benefit.

Indeed the main theme of all the speakers, including Paul Kenny of the GMB union, Shami Chakrabarti of the civil rights group Liberty and Ed Miliband, was the damaging effect of the cuts on ordinary people's lives.

Three speakers: Ed Miliband looking distinctly unhappy, a determined Tom Watson MP and Shami Chakrabarti, director of Liberty

at Durham Miners' Gala

The master of ceremonies was Dave Hopper, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers and a local man. He stood in for the NUM president David Guy who is currently in hospital "on palliative care". Every speaker sent good wishes to Guy.

Hopper was the only one of the platform to mention the battle within the Labour Party with the New Labour Progress faction that is financed by Lord Sainsbury, Pfizer Pharmaceuticals and Lord Montague, among other members of the one per cent. The reference to that faction provoked a storm of boos from the crowd.

Hopper reminded everyone that Durham had always voted Labour and always would but that the former mining communities deserved better treatment than they had had from the Tories or New Labour.

But Miliband turned a deaf ear to all the speakers' demands and delivered a bland speech that was full of praise for the history of the Miners' Gala and an attack on the Government's treatment of youth but very low on commitment to do anything specific to remedy the effects of the cuts or to strengthen Labour ties with the unions.

He did say he was in favour of developing clean coal technology and taxing bankers' bonuses, and attacked the Murdoch press empire. The crowd had to be content with that and the fact he had come at all, unlike his predecessors Brown, Blair and John Smith.

Dave Hopper, general secretary of the NUM, whose reference to the rightwing Progress group resulted in boos from the crowd

The crowd and the platform gave a huge welcome to two Spanish miners, currently in conflict with their government over cuts to the Spanish mining industry that led to running battles on the streets with police and many injuries from plastic bullets.

Bands and banners march through the town

The *Morning Star* stall carried copies of the latest edition of *Searchlight*, which were distributed to the crowd. These were very well received, though a good number declined on the basis that they already subscribed or their union branch did.

It was a huge event with at least 50 bands and over 80 miners' lodge banners, mostly representing mines now long gone.

The day began with an assembly in the town centre followed by a procession of bands and banners to the Racecourse meadow beside the river Wear, and ended traditionally with the bands and banners marching back up the hill. Though the distance was short the return march took a couple of hours simply because there were so many there.

EDL leader to contest poll as Griffin attacks

By **Sonia Gable**

A RUSH OF CONDEMNATION greeted the English Defence League's announcement that one of its leaders intended to contest the election for police and crime commissioner for Bedfordshire in November.

A less appropriate person to set policing priorities and appoint the chief constable than the joint chief of a bunch of violent street thugs, many of whom have criminal convictions, is hard to imagine, but it's a free election and people of all political views can stand. The media have been quick to point out that Kevin Carroll, who lives in Luton, has a conviction himself: a public order offence for shouting abuse at Muslims who were protesting at a soldiers' homecoming parade in Luton in 2009, for which he received a nine-month conditional discharge and was ordered to pay £175 costs. However the offence is not imprisonable and therefore does not bar him from standing.

Kevin Carroll: a new face of law and order?

Carroll is also a vice chairman of the British Freedom Party, which was formed in autumn 2010 by former British National Party activists who backed Eddy Butler's bid to oust Nick Griffin as the BNP leader two years ago (but not Butler himself who later joined the English Democrats). The BFP, now led by Paul Weston, a former UKIP candidate, formed an alliance with the EDL earlier this year, appointing Carroll and his cousin and co-leader of the EDL, Stephen Lennon, as joint vice chairmen. The BFP is also backing Carroll's bid for the police commissioner role.

Some police officers and others have warned that public apathy about these elections, which will not take place in London, risks letting extremists into power by the back door. Ironically, the fact that Carroll is standing – and other far-right candidates can be expected to follow – may increase interest from the majority who want to keep fascists and racists out of any position of influence. That's not to say we welcome any far-right candidates: their presence can only be a diversion from the real issues. The chances of Carroll being elected are negligible: in the May council elections the BFP's six candidates polled an average of 51 votes each (1.9%).

In fact Carroll told The Independent on 1 August that he would stand in his guise as joint-leader of the EDL, rather than as vice-chairman of the BFP, because the role requires an apolitical approach. That may be his view, but the usual rules apply to these elections, one of which is that candidates can only stand as independents or as representatives of a registered political party, which the EDL is not.

The EDL has a higher public profile than the BFP but not one that is likely to gain it much support. The leader of an outfit intimately associated with violence is hardly an ideal candidate for running the police by any stretch of the imagination.

The identical announcements on the EDL and BFP websites state that Carroll will stand on a platform of ending cuts in the police service, "substantial improvements" in police pay and conditions, an end to "political correctness" (hardly a surprise) and what they describe as "two-tier policing" (by which they mean supposed special favours for minority groups), emphasis on tackling serious crime, antisocial behaviour and dealing hard drugs, and "no more police time wasted on manning speed traps", a plea that suggests Carroll might have been caught out too often for comfort.

The announcement unsurprisingly brought out the usual "experts", and they don't come any more ubiquitous than Dr Matthew Goodwin of Nottingham University. Showing that he had thought long and hard about the issues, he told *The Independent*: "This move is signalling an interest in capturing elected positions, it is significant in that it is in Bedfordshire, where the EDL emerged and has some local support." He added: "Whether or not it turns into a greater commitment to electioneering in local

police commissioner EDL's financial backers

elections next year and in European elections the following year remains to be seen." Well, yes.

Call for donations

Candidates for election must pay a deposit of £5,000 which is returned if they receive at least 5% of the vote. They must also obtain 100 nominations from registered voters in their police area. Carroll might manage the nominations but can expect to lose his deposit, so the EDL and BFP are imploring their supporters to raise the money for him. By midnight on 1 August they claimed to have raised £1,096.66, nearly 22% of the total and up from £1,067.66 earlier in the day, though Carroll told *The Independent* the same day that he already received "between £1,500 and £1,600".

I can confidently predict that the EDL will have raised the money before 12 noon on 19 October, the deadline for registering candidates. Whatever comes in as a result of this appeal, the EDL has plenty of other sources of funding, enabling its supporters to travel around the country to demonstrations most weekends this summer.

One money-maker for the EDL is online merchandising. The antifascist EDL News website last month revealed the names of four limited companies associated with the EDL, which it said had been formed to get round the stop on the EDL's PayPal account in response to the EDL breaching PayPal's user agreement by promoting anti-Muslim, xenophobic and racist views.

Two of these companies, The English Defence League Angels (EDL) Ltd, company number 07699357 formed on 11 July 2011, and The English & Jewish Defence League (EDL) Ltd, company number 07678022, formed on 22 June 2011, are listed as dormant, which means no transactions go through them. Both have Helen Gower, personal assistant to Lennon and Carroll, as director and share a registered address in Dover.

Possibly more active is EDL English Defence League Ltd, directed by Roberta Moore, former head of the EDL's 'Jewish division', though not herself Jewish, and a supporter of the Norwegian terrorist Anders Breivik. The company, number 07477566, formed on 23 December 2010, describes its business helpfully as "other service activities not elsewhere classified".

The fourth company is NRNLS Ltd, a clothing business registered at an address in Poole and directed by Timothy Ablitt, an EDL activist and regional organiser for the BFP. It is this company, number 07983282, formed on 9 March 2012, that supplies the clothing that the EDL sells on its website.

But it does more than that. Anyone foolish enough to make an online donation to the EDL via its website arrives at a PayPal donation page displaying the message "PayPal securely processes donations for NRNLS Ltd". This, on the EDL's website, is evidence that NRNLS Ltd is acting as a front for the EDL to get round the PayPal ban. EDL News wrote on 7 July 2012 that it had contacted PayPal to draw this matter to its attention. So far PayPal appears to have done nothing about it.

EDL News also rightly questions how donors can be sure that their donations are actually going to the EDL rather than to the owners of NRNLS Ltd. That company is not required to file its first accounts until 9 December 2013, leaving donors in the dark for many months.

NRNLS Ltd is not, however, entrusted with collecting donations for Carroll's election deposit: these are being processed through the BFP's PayPal account, whichever website donors access to support his campaign.

Money from the start

However there is much bigger money behind the EDL. Late last year *The Sunday Times* revealed that Alan Lake, one of the founders of the EDL in 2009, was in reality Alan Ayling, a wealthy IT expert who until January 2011 was a director of Pacific Capital Investment Management Ltd. In an interview with the Norwegian TV2 channel Ayling admitted: "I have given some money to help some EDL things happen".

Also exposed by *The Sunday Times* was Ann Bernadette Marchini, who uses the name "Gaia" the Earth goddess of Greek mythology. Marchini runs a buy-to-let property empire from her £1.6 million mock-Tudor home in Highgate. She is believed to be divorced from an Italian banker and also to use the alias "Dominique Devaux". Her website lists 19 properties of up to five bedrooms, mostly in east London. They are let room by room, mostly to students.

EDL leader to contest police commissioner poll
continued

In *Searchlight's* December 2011 issue, I picked up on research by Tash Shifrin published on the Unite Against Fascism website, which revealed that Marchini coordinated the European wing of the well funded US Center for Vigilant Freedom (CVF), now part of the International Civil Liberties Alliance (ICLA), which promotes Islamophobia and organises the EDL's links with far-right and fascist groups across Europe and the USA. I also named three other directors of the CVF: Chris Knowles, who ran the EDL's media operation, Christine Brim, chief operating officer of the multi-million dollar, right-wing and Islamophobic US think tank, the Center for Security Policy, and Edward May, who as "Baron Bodissey" runs the Islamophobic Gates of Vienna website. It is Gates of Vienna that provides Weston with a forum for his predictions of war between "native Europeans" and Muslims.

The ICLA sponsored an "International Conference for Free Speech and Human Rights" at the European Parliament in Brussels on 9 July, hosted by Philip Claeys of the Belgian extremist party Flemish Interest (VB). The meeting, which was not advertised, featured as a guest speaker Stephen Lennon, standing in for Weston who was "unable to attend" according to the BFP. What the assembled members of far-right organisations from Germany, Sweden and the UK made of Lennon's theory that Luton was the centre of a plot by the Islamic world to bring Britain under their authority is not known.

While in Brussels, Lennon, who generally uses the pseudonym Tommy Robinson, left an anti-Islam leaflet on the office door of Richard Howitt, a Labour MEP for the East of England constituency, which includes Luton. He also left a note in Howitt's mailbox saying "You spineless coward, Love Tommy". He appears to be in trouble not for that but for contravening the European Parliament's rule that visitors must be signed in and show a passport as identity.

More recently the ICLA has also come to the attention of Griffin. At a conference of the Alliance of European National Movements (AENM) on 24 July, Griffin, who in February had lifted the BNP's proscription of the EDL, stated there was "nothing English about the EDL".

Back in February Griffin welcomed cooperation with the EDL's "members" (it doesn't actually have any) but criticised the fact that the organisation was "financed not out of the pockets of its overwhelmingly working class grass-roots, but by a tight-knit group of wealthy businessmen". It was a clear attempt by Griffin to win over some of the young people who had been politicised into Islamophobia by the EDL.

'Tame nationalists'

At the AENM conference held at a hotel in Wirral, which had been duped into hosting it by the simple expedient of a booking in the false name of the European Social Political and Economic Research Establishment, Griffin claimed that the ICLA and its allies had a "thinly veiled agenda" of taking over or destroying "genuine nationalist parties" such as the BNP and replacing them with "tame nationalists". That may be a convenient explanation of the BNP's decline over the past two years, mostly if not wholly the result of Griffin's mismanagement and dictatorial nature. However it is true that the BFP, a party that claimed 449 "paid and non-paying members" at 31 December 2011, and income for the whole of 2011 of £2,418.38 – a figure that indicates most of the members were non-paying – has been promoted as the BNP's successor by many commentators who should know better.

Alliance of European National Movements representatives take a break from their meeting at the Thornton Hall Hotel in the Wirral

But it goes further than that according to Griffin. After outlining the roles of Brim, Knowles and Marchini, Griffin went on to point the finger at Frank Gaffney, Brim's boss at the Center for Security Policy and one of the founders of the Project for the New American Century (PNAC).

The PNAC, which existed from 19997 to 2006, described itself as "a non-profit educational organization dedicated to a few fundamental propositions: that American leadership is good both for America and for the world; and that such leadership requires military strength, diplomatic energy and commitment to moral principle", a position statement rather more blatant than other organisations that promote US state interests such as the British-American Project.

Griffin told his audience that the PNAC had been one of the prime movers in favour of the war in Iraq, which Griffin opposed, and stated that Gaffney was using people such as Lennon to create "moronic hatred against Islam and clashes against Islam" with the aim of creating momentum for a war against Iran in the interests of US foreign policy.

According to Griffin, Gaffney's outfit was also financing ultra-Zionist settlors in Israel to ensure there was no possibility of peace with the

as Griffin attacks EDL's financial backers

Palestinians. To applause – and Griffin's long and involved speech, which probably went way over the heads of much of his audience, did not receive much – Griffin stated that the BNP did not take a position on the Middle East as it is "not our fight". However he found it hard to position himself as opposed to Zionist interests but not antisemitic, and cited Weston's visit to the Holocaust memorial at Yad Vashem as part of the process of taming nationalism.

Like in February, Griffin was at pains not to criticise the EDL's supporters, who, in his view, were "sincere" and "risk losing their jobs and families to express their deep concern with how we are losing our country". But he criticised the EDL's narrow focus on Islam, reminding his listeners of the "areas of our country colonised by Africans" and referring to the "hell hole" of Britain's inner cities. The BNP had lost its councillors in Barking and Dagenham at the hands not of Muslims but of Christian blacks, he said.

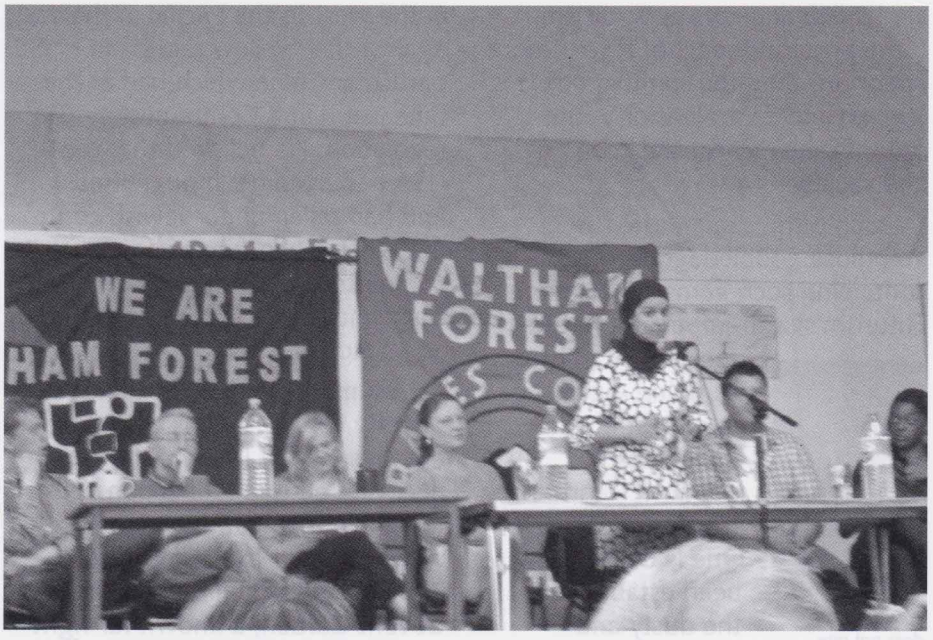
Promoting violence

Although Griffin has often predicted civil war in Britain, he claims he does not want it and condemned Gates of Vienna for its promotion of violence by publishing manuals for "leaderless white terrorist gangs" such as Breivik, instructions on the manufacture of explosives, and its advocacy of assassinating the leaders of Islam. He saw their agenda as targeting "innocent members of the Muslim community", thereby provoking retaliation and boosting a cycle of violence, something he described as "sick and wicked beyond belief", though perhaps of greater concern to him was that he personally would be blamed for the resulting civil war.

Griffin added that it was not only the interests of US foreign policy that would be served by the spread of war in the Middle East but big companies such as Halliburton, which provide much of the equipment for war and are then given the contract to rebuild the devastated countries. That argument is difficult to fault.

He ended on a theme that has also been developed by some of the thinkers of the New Right who have spoken at meetings of Troy Southgate's New Right group and Jeremy Bedford-Turner's Iona London Forum (see recent issues of *Searchlight*). Namely that after the Middle East had been dealt with, the US would turn against Russia, which Griffin praised as the only place left that was a "reservoir of our kind, culture and identity". Championing President Vladimir Putin, who was elected in March 2012 in a poll that Griffin described as more democratic than British elections, Griffin accused the US of wanting to open Russia to privatisation, seemingly overlooking the fact that Russian business is largely in the hands of a small number of oligarchs who most certainly do not have the interests of the ordinary people and Russian society at heart. Russia also suffers from a high level of racist violence, as *Searchlight* has reported month after month (see page 31 for example), but presumably that is OK with Griffin.

Whether or not Gaffney is financing the EDL, whether or not there is any truth in Griffin's clam that the EDL pays its regional organisers £2,000 if they can fill a coach to an EDL demonstration, the EDL has promised a series of protests over the summer. At a community meeting in Walthamstow, northeast London, on 31 July, speakers pointed out that the EDL is a threat to everyone, not only Muslims, and that it was essential for local people to show the EDL that they were not welcome, in the hope that eventually they would get the message and stay away. The *Searchlight* website will continue to publicise details of anti-EDL protests wherever the EDL turn up to pollute communities.



Speakers in Walthamstow claim victory in stopping the EDL coming to Walthamstow on Eid ul-Fitr, 18 August, and call for community action against the racists on the new date of 1 September

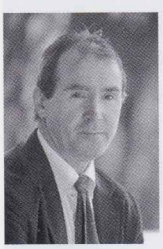
Top international fascist criticises Britain's far right

By **Gerry Gable**

EXCITEMENT WAS IN the air at the July meeting of the Iona London Forum, not so much from the audience but from the organiser, Jeremy Bedford-Turner, after he managed to secure a special guest speaker.

Constantin von Hoffmeister, a Prussian German who has lived in Russia for the past seven years, is the creator of what he calls National Futurism, which he claims "absorbs" National Bolshevism, fascism, Prussian socialism and national socialism, but nevertheless is "anti-nostalgia", and "advocates a radical departure from antiquated political philosophies that have failed to produce long-term results in the past". Pan-European unity and "Imperivm Evropa" – the spelling perhaps intended to dress up his ideas in classical clothing – are its defining concepts; racism ("the physical aspect of race is more important than the spiritual one") is a given and centralisation is the order of the day for the economy and society.

Much of his "manifesto" is grandiose gobbledegook, containing such gems as "[National Futurism's] anti-imperialist nature does not stop it from founding a galactic empire, stretching from Sirius to Neptune," and "Once Europe (the One Nation) has been established, the dusty and medieval fields can be paved and pit stops for the new transcontinental mega-highway constructed". Hoffmeister, 36, places great emphasis on the role of "the Party": for example "The current regime must fall ... so that the Order of the Party can be established", but he is silent on what party that is or whether it exists at all.



Tomislav Sunic: does not rate the NF

Hoffmeister's ideas owe much to the US far-right extremist Francis Parker Yockey. A prosecution lawyer at the Nuremberg war crimes trials, Yockey moved to the Irish Republic where he wrote a 600-page book on the future of the 'white race', *Imperium: The Philosophy of History and Politics*. Yockey visualised a common front led by Europe and Russia, ruled from Berlin and stretching from Ireland in the west to the Pacific in the east, against the "yellow races", in particular China which had at the time just had a Communist revolution. He believed that the USA had become 'mongrelised' and had fallen under Jewish control. But whereas Yockey was a committed antisemite, Hoffmeister claims not to be and admires Israel as a "racialist state".

Presumably it was the additional security considerations arising from the presence of Hoffmeister that necessitated two redirection points to enable the nearly 50 right-wingers to get to the meeting on 7 July at the Freemasons Arms near Covent Garden, a known far-right watering hole some years ago. First they had to listen to Linda Miller – not the former British National Party East End activist of that name – who spoke about genetic diversity and the world being "piss poor and vile filth from the heart".

After Hoffmeister had expounded his theories, thankfully without reciting his dire poetry, came Richard Edmonds, who spoke about the Western world being bankrupt with no prizes for guessing whom he blamed for that, though whether Hoffmeister concurred was unclear.

Much of the audience would have preferred Edmonds's conventional view on the Jews: those present included one-time BNP councillor Derek Beackon; the longtime National Front Croydon officer and former Combat 18 activist Paul Ballard; Ralph Ballard (unrelated); the leading Holocaust denier Lady Michèle Renouf; Peter Rushton, deputy editor of *Heritage and Destiny*; former BNP councillor Julian Leppert from Loughton, Essex, who brought along his neighbours Jarvis and Martin; the former BNP Bletchley organiser Matt Tait; Peter Gray; barrister Adrian Davies fresh from representing David Sloan, the businessman sentenced to two and a half years in prison last month for targeting the wife and daughter of BNP leader Nick Griffin over an unpaid BNP debt; teacher Michael Woodbridge; loony Frank Walsh; Scotsman Duncan Robertson propping up the Historical Review Press book stall that would have

been run by Anthony Hancock until his death in June; northerner Piers; young Tyrone; Barry Rolph; John Jones; and, last but not least, Dr James Thring who hot-footed it there from the Marxism 2012 festival where his anti-Jewish remarks on the subject of Iran were tolerated by a roomful of alleged leftists.

To the surprise of many, Bedford-Turner announced that Dr Tomislav Sunic, the Croatian former diplomat and regular speaker at meetings of Iona and Troy Southgate's rival New Right Group, would be speaking on Friday night at a combined social and meeting, a clear attempt to steal a march on Southgate by holding two meetings in the same month.

The following Saturday, 14 July, it was the turn of the NF to host Sunic at the party's 45th anniversary meeting (there was even a birthday cake with '45' on it made by Anna Martin) at the Prince of Wales pub in Mottingham, southeast London, which attracted around 57 members and guests. The pub licensees must be far-right sympathisers as they allowed the room to be decked out with fascist banners.

Party chairman Ian Edward introduced the speakers, but before that he invited several NF organisers to report on their work. The Aberdeen organiser announced that the party was already lining up candidates for Scotland and Northern Ireland for the next year's council elections, with one certain candidate for Belfast and two probables in the pipeline.

Apart from him, it was easy to see why the NF had gained such pitifully low votes in the May elections this year.

Bernadette Jaggers, who was once Griffin's most efficient minder until she defected to the NF, always goes down well with the audience who are impressed by her connections with several infamous criminals. She brought with her onto the platform Karne Thomas McGinn, a large hard-looking man with some interesting tattoos. He was a failed NF candidate in Thurrock last May but according to Jaggers was doing great work representing the NF to overseas fascist groups.

The thuggish recidivist criminal Simon Biggs, who now rules the roost for the NF in Newcastle and the North East, boasted that he had got around the lack of NF supporters by adopting a violent pro-active stance, and as a result was starting to involve a growing number of politically non-aligned youths in violent street activities.

The first of the keynote speakers was the London activist Tess Culnane, who said predictably that all the other far-right parties had lost credibility and it was up to the NF to "save our country".

Next up was Sunic, who offended several of the audience, many of whom were intellectually inferior to those who populate Iona and New Right meetings, by telling them that the NF, indeed most of the British far right, were miles behind today's Nazi and fascist movements in France and Germany.

Naturally Edmonds, who followed, disagreed, saying that the NF was now the most active and viable group on the British right, glossing over his party's ballot box failures and the absence of any NF local councillors, let alone two MEPs like the BNP. However it is true to say that the NF is more active than the BNP in several parts of the country.

Constantin von Hoffmeister (left) with the French New Right theorist Guillaume Faye

In the audience were Tony Martin of Croydon, just back from stirring up trouble in Northern Ireland with some other former BNP members; Beackon; Ian Dawson from Norfolk; Arthur Flinders, the ageing kindly donor to bad causes; Mike Easter; and Manuel, a raving racist from Spain who worked for Hancock, the nazi printer, publisher and jack-of-all-crimes, in an effort to improve his English language skills. Since Hancock's death Manuel has been living in Manchester.

'Big Dave' videoed the event and Robertson ran the book stall again. An email greeting from the People's Party of Australia was read out. The raffle prizes appeared to rate a bottle of wine ahead of a portrait of former NF leader John Tyndall and a book.

And as ever sticking his nose in to other people business was Bedford-Turner. No wonder *Searchlight* receives anonymous letters suggesting he may not be all he appears to be. We reckon he is just too obvious to be a spook.

Sunic's regular visits to the UK are a concern. An academic who runs websites and broadcasts on radio and television, Sunic is becoming increasingly influential in Britain, extending his international reputation on the far right.

COMING NEXT MONTH:

A MAJOR SEARCHLIGHT FEATURE ON THE INFLUENTIAL NAZI PRINTER AND PUBLISHER ANTHONY HANCOCK, WHO DIED IN JUNE

Fighting racism in sport:

By **Daphne Liddle**

THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM IN SPORT has come a long way since the launch of the "Let's kick racism out of football" campaign in 1993 but it would be a serious mistake to imagine that the problem is solved.

This was the message of a symposium organised in London on 4 July by lawyer and poet Dave Neita and Michelle Moore, an independent development consultant. It brought together Professor Ben Carrington, an internationally respected authority on the issues of race, gender, class and nation within sport, and a panel of experienced experts in the field to debate the issue: "Does sport promote or challenge racism?" in front of a large audience.

The panel included Paul Elliott CBE, a black footballer who made his professional debut at Charlton Athletic Football Club in 1980 and went on to play for Luton, Aston Villa and Celtic, where he won the Scottish Footballer of the Year award in 1989.

Also on the panel was Tasha Danvers, a British Olympic bronze medallist in the 400 metres hurdles at the 2008 Beijing Olympic. The debate was chaired by Keme Nzerem, an award-winning journalist employed by Channel Four News as a news anchor and sports reporter.

Michelle Moore has held a range of academic, vocational, pastoral and advisory posts, while Dave Neita is known as the People's Lawyer and is also a poet. He has specialised in representing excluded individuals and marginalised groups, including thousands of South African asbestos miners seeking compensation.

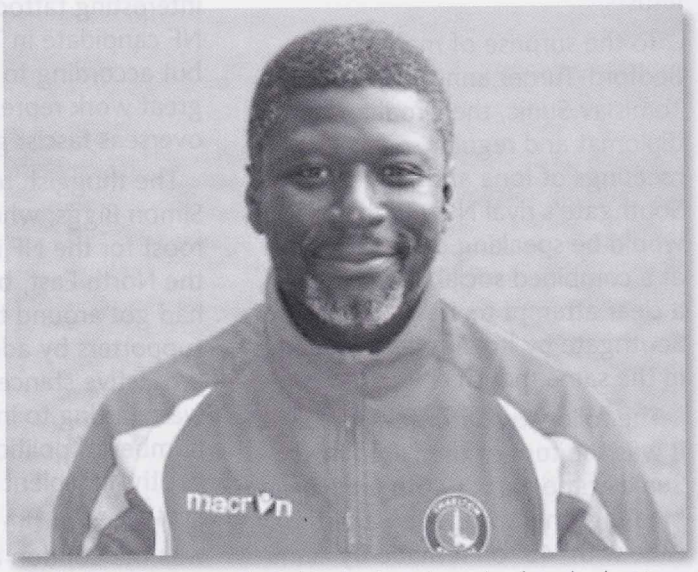
Another participant was Paul Mortimer, who began his football career with Farnborough Town in 1986 and joined Charlton Athletic the following year. He later played for Aston Villa, Crystal Palace and Bristol City. He has now returned to Charlton Athletic where he coaches the club's women's team and is an ambassador for Show Racism the Red Card.

Finally there was Bart Oojen, policy officer in the Sport Unit for the European Commission since 2009 who has a long record of fighting violence, discrimination and intolerance.

Professor Carrington began his keynote address by posing the question: "Does sport promote or challenge racism?" and went on to say that although we have come a very long way between 1912 and 2012 sport does not automatically deliver positive outcomes.

He cited the raised fist Black Power salute given by John Carlos and Tommie Smith at the 1968 Olympics to draw attention to inequality and poverty in black communities in the United States. The gesture certainly raised the issue of racism faced by black people in sport and the discrimination and poverty they face in the back streets of America. But it cost Carlos and Smith dearly in the short term as their sporting careers were halted for some years. In the long term their names are now in the history books.

There are plenty of black footballers now in the top clubs but still very few at higher levels, as managers or directors.



Paul Mortimer, Show Racism the Red Card ambassador, spoke of people who are embarrassed by their racism

Professor Carrington also refuted the idea, now being promoted, that the descendents of black slaves are some sort of sporting super race because of the adversity in simply surviving faced by their ancestors. "This is again defining black people by their physicality: 'They are naturally good at sport', implying they are not so hot at mental ability.

"There's a lot of misinformation and mistaken assumptions about racism and sport going round," he added. "At the moment there's a conflict between nationalism and cosmopolitanism arising from the recent UEFA cup finals. The media in Britain were promoting the idea that Britain is way ahead of some other European countries – Poland and Ukraine for example – in combating racism and that we should be teaching the rest of the world. "But we've still got serious problems in our own backyard."

And he cited the incident in October last year, when Liverpool were playing at home to Manchester United, Liverpool player Luis Suárez was accused of racially abusing Patrice Evra and the Football Association opened an investigation into the incident. According to Evra's testimony, Suárez said in Spanish that he had earlier kicked Evra "because you are black", said "I don't speak to blacks" and used the word "negro" five times in total as they argued.

On 20 December, the FA concluded a seven-day hearing by handing Suárez an eight-match ban and a £40,000 fine for racially abusing Evra. More disturbing than Suárez's remarks was the statement put out by Liverpool FC, which claimed the club was "very surprised and disappointed" at the ban.

Suárez and Evra next met on 11 February 2012 when Liverpool played Manchester United at Old Trafford. During

the struggle goes on

the traditional pre-game handshakes, Suárez avoided shaking Evra's hand. Liverpool manager Kenny Dalglish continued to defend Suárez's provocative behaviour until Liverpool's owners and shirt sponsor, Standard Chartered, pressured both Suárez and Dalglish to issue formal apologies for their conduct. The bad reputation Liverpool FC was getting was costing them money.

Professor Carrington also mentioned the incident between John Terry and Anton Ferdinand, which resulted in racism charges against Terry, who was found not guilty at Westminster Magistrates' Court on 13 July. And he cited the remarks by FIFA boss Sepp Blatter that the problem of racism in sport had been "overstated" and that it could be resolved simply with a friendly handshake at the end of a match.

This remark provoked outrage, including from David Beckham who declared Blatter's attitude "unacceptable" – showing that the consensus position on racism in football in Britain and other western European countries has moved a long way since the 1970s and 1980s, when it was common for racists to boo black players, make monkey noises and throw bananas onto the pitch. Now most top west European clubs have a high proportion of black players and they are not expected to put up with this overt racism.

Following Professor Carrington's speech Keme Nzerem questioned other members of the panel about their experiences.

Paul Elliot told the meeting of his early experiences in sport while a teenager. Trainers had assumed he would not enjoy swimming simply because he was black and that he would also feel the cold more than white players. When he first joined Charlton Athletic, a club at the forefront of combating racism in football, another player had joked about him eating "coonflakes".

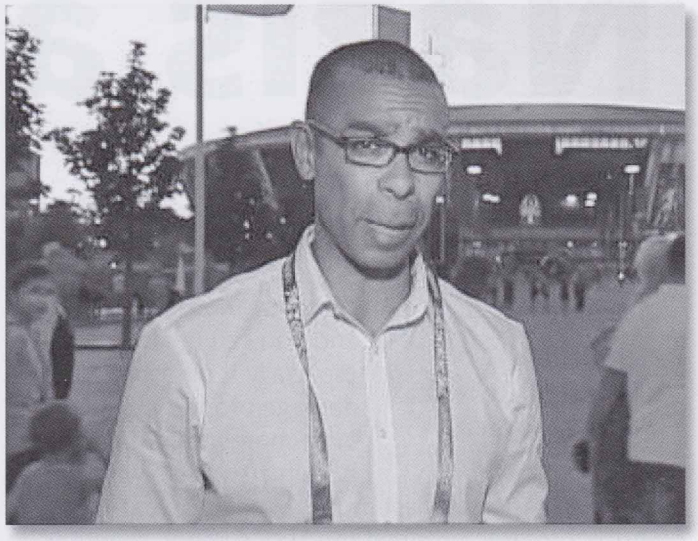
"As a player, growing up was very difficult, we were told not to be too sensitive, to rise above it all and grin and bear it. So I kept quiet in a way that I would not do now."

But he also spoke of the power of football to engage with the general population and change attitudes as almost nothing else can – with giant signs saying: "Let's Kick Racism Out of Football" the public mood has changed and overt racism is no longer acceptable.

He warned: "There is still a lot of racism out there in the youth teams and the amateur sports. We must fight it at that level."

Paul Mortimer spoke of people who claim not to be racists, who will say one thing to your face but something very different behind your back.

He related how he had tried to explain racism to his young son. "Then one day I joined a golf club and took him with me on my first visit. When we walked in it was just like the scene in the westerns where the villain walks into the saloon and suddenly everything goes quiet. My son was puzzled; he asked



The discussion was chaired by Keme Nzerem, seen here reporting from Euro 2012 in Donetsk

me: 'is this because of us?'

"I told him: 'Yes. But look at their faces, they're all looking at the floor, they're embarrassed by their racism.' We walked through the room and no one would look at us but my son started laughing because they were scared to look at us."

Tasha Danvers agreed that racist attitudes now are more difficult to pin down and many racists are in denial they but they are still there. One contributor from the floor gave an example of a recent race where the white girl who had come second was immediately surrounded by press and cameras congratulating her, while the black girl who had won the race was totally ignored.

The topic of hidden racist attitudes came up in debate many times. "Big Ron" Atkinson was mentioned and his ill-judged remark, describing a player as "what is known in the trade as a lazy nigger", when he thought the microphone had been turned off after an interview. The worst part about it was that the remark implied this description was commonplace behind the scenes "in the trade".

The consensus of the meeting was that it is easier now to challenge racist remarks but vitally important to do so in every case and to explain the harm that racism does, to improve the understanding of the person who made the remark. Black people do not have to conform to any stereotype to be accepted. Mohammed Ali's quote: "I do not have to be what you expect me to be," was mentioned.

Paul Elliot compared the situation to Fidel Castro still wearing his military uniform decades after the Cuban revolution: "It is because the struggle is not over. The struggle goes on. It is the same here fighting racism. We have come a very long way but there is still a lot more to do. The struggle goes on."

News and analysis

ITALY

Nazis and fascis

Enrico Zaccardi's Nazi flag

WAVE A LARGE swastika flag (probably 3 x 2 metres, to judge from the pictures) in a crowd of thousands in Rome and you can be arrested, especially if on top of it you damage property to attract even more attention, then put up a struggle with the police. It happened last month when 23-year-old Enrico Zaccardi, unfurled the Nazi symbol, together with one of equal size with Mussolini's face on it, during the Euro 2012 football final, being shown on a maxi screen.

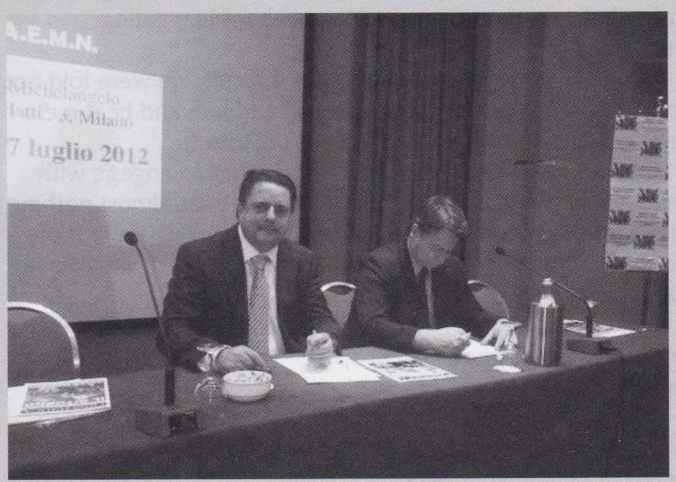
The anti-terrorist police filmed the scene, caught up with the Nazi and handcuffed him. International news agencies reported the arrest but not how it ended. Well, here it is. Zaccardi was almost instantly brought before a judge and given a two and a half months suspended sentence for resisting arrest. A couple of hours later he was free to go home as if nothing had happened. The reason given: he had no previous convictions. If there is a follow-up under the Italian "Mancino law" that prohibits apologia of fascism – a truncheon with Mussolini's face on it, fascist propaganda and "objects aimed at causing offence" were also found at his home – it may take years before we hear anything about it.

A friend of Zaccardi who was also arrested and released (the two were actually part of a group of 17 who used the football match for their political ends and went as far as to damage the maxi screen to gain attention) as soon as he got back home posted sarcastic comments on his Facebook page insulting the police, clearly intending to use the arrest (and swift liberation) as a kind of trophy.

One may indeed ask, what's the point of pursuing individuals for the display of Nazi and fascist propaganda when Italian shops are free to sell it? And police may wonder whether there is much consistency about filming and handcuffing Nazis displaying swastika flags if within hours those arrested are back home eating pasta with mamma.

It is perhaps this kind of confusion and leniency, palpably turned into a habit of tolerating Nazi-fascist propaganda, that has led the European far right once more to choose Italy as a safe place for a high profile gathering. The Alliance of European National Movements (AENM) met at Hotel Michelangelo in Milan last month to discuss "the European crisis and the euro" as well as a proposal to set up a European "think tank" and a European trade Unio.

The opening speech was given by Bruno Gollnisch, the French National Front MEP who is the AENM President, followed by his two deputies, Nick Griffin of the British National Party and Luca Romagnoli of Fiamma Tricolore (Tricolour Flame, the flame being the fascist symbol). The representatives of at least 14 European countries were present, including Sweden and Malta. There were also guests from the USA. According to Valerio Cignetti, Secretary General of the



BNP leader and AENM deputy president Nick Griffin addressed the conference on a supposed "war for the soul of European nationalism"

ts welcome

By **Alfio Bernabei**

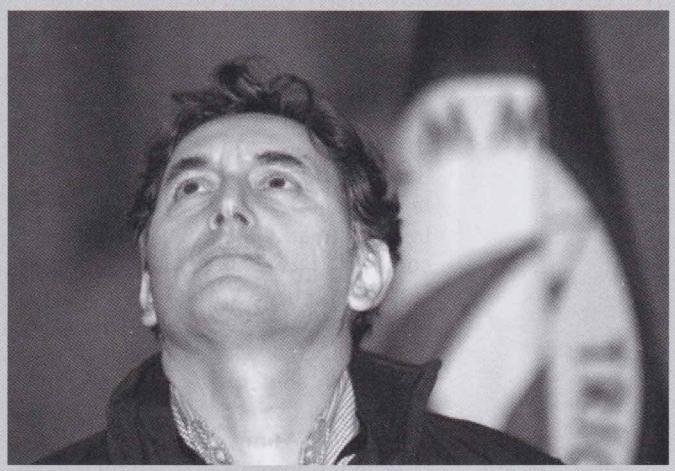
European Alliance of National Movements

AENM, the European Union is possible "only if it chooses the right" and if guided by "the preservation of the various cultural differences, founded on the values of Christian civilisation against the forces of globalisation". There should be "no super-state based on high finance but a confederation of free countries". The adoption, in public, of this relatively "soft" language by the neo-fascists and neo-Nazis who attended the meeting is because everyone is trying to emulate Marine Le Pen. One of the sessions, however, was behind closed doors.

The Greek Golden Dawn were not invited. Neither were Forza Nuova or Casa Pound.

The meeting served a second purpose within Italy's objectives of the far right attempting to camouflage itself into the "acceptable right" for the 2013 election. Berlusconi's original three-party coalition, which was made up of Forza Italia, Gianfranco Fini's National Alliance and Umberto Bossi Northern League, has disintegrated. There is a rush to capture the splinters and the far right is hoping to act as a magnet. For this purpose Romagnoli, the fascist and Holocaust denying former MEP, has joined forces with La Destra (the Right), a party led by the fascist Senator Francesco Storace. Roberto Fiore's Forza Nuova has been left out in the cold. A double blow.

It is curious to observe how Griffin now represents an organisation from which Fiore, who used to be his only ally in Europe, is excluded, at least for the time being. The French National Front is obviously in a position to dictate the kind of associates it prefers and clearly had a hand in the choice of representatives and guests it wanted at the AENM conference in Milan. It must have concluded that at this time it is best not to be seen too closely involved with parties or movements that speak of activists as "soldiers" and have two wings, one acting with paramilitary tactics. Only last May, for instance, Forza Nuova organised a "self-defence course" in Predappio, Mussolini's birthplace. Perhaps *pas très propre* for the French.



Luca Romagnoli, one of the deputy presidents of the AENM

Bruno Gollnisch, AENM president

News and analysis

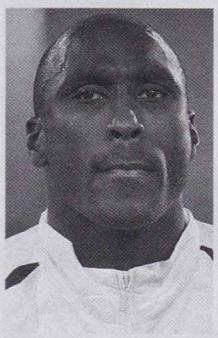
EURO 2012

Racism and violence at Euro 2012

By **Anton Shekhovtsov**

During Euro 2012 co-hosted by Poland and Ukraine, Anton Shekhovtsov monitored racist and violent incidents that took place in the two countries

THE EURO 2012 TOURNAMENT started on 8 June amid fears of racism and hooliganism in Poland and Ukraine. The BBC *Panorama* programme "Stadiums of Hate" presumably contributed the most to the spread of these fears, with Sol Campbell stating that the two countries did not "deserve these prestigious tournaments" and telling English fans to avoid travelling to Ukraine and Poland "because you could end up coming back in a coffin". However, a fortnight before the Euro 2012 final, a number of England fans in the Ukrainian city Donetsk carried a coffin painted with a St George's Cross and the words: "You're wrong Campbell". As my observations revealed, Campbell was wrong indeed at least as regards Ukraine, as not one racist incident involving Ukraine fans was reported during the tournament.



Sol Campbell: his warning to England fans proved wrong

Nevertheless, Euro 2012 was not free from violence and racist abuse of players. The first incident took place a day before the official start of the tournament, when the Netherlands' black players were subjected to monkey chants during their open training session in Krakow, with Dutch captain Mark van Bommel branding the incident "a real disgrace". On the same day, four Russia fans and two Turks had a brawl in a Warsaw bar and were fined €1,000. Russia fans have turned out to be major troublemakers during the tournament, or more accurately, until their team failed to progress to the semi-finals. On the opening day of Euro 2012, Russia fans attacked Polish stewards at the Wroclaw stadium following their country's victory over the Czech Republic. It resulted in four guards being hospitalised but they were soon released after receiving first aid. During the match, some Russian fans directed monkey chants at the Czech player of Ethiopian origin, Theo Gebre Selassie. Such an attitude among Russia fans is quite worrying given that the 2018 FIFA World Cup is to be hosted by Russia.

On 9 June, German fans racially abused Portugal players.

RUSSIA

Racism and xenophobia report

Natasha Yudina of the SOVA Centre presents a review of manifestations of xenophobia and radical nationalism as well as governmental countermeasures for June 2012, taken from the SOVA Centre's daily monitoring.

ONE PERSON WAS killed and six others suffered racist or neo-Nazi attacks in Moscow and St Petersburg in June. That brings the total number killed in the first half of 2012 to five, with one person receiving serious death threats and 77 people injured in 15 regions of Russia.

Around 550 nationalists took part in the "March of Millions" parade on 12 June in Moscow. Similar activities took place in St Petersburg, Barnaul, Saratov, Kaliningrad, Krasnoyarsk and Novosibirsk.

To mobilise their supporters, right-wing radicals again tried to implement their "Kondopoga scenario". (In 2006, a serious ethnic conflict took place in Kondopoga after two ethnic Russians were killed by a Chechen gang. It resulted in radical Russian nationalists coming to Kondopoga and trying to start pogroms). In June, they exploited the domestic conflict between local residents and Dagestani refugees in the village of Demyanovo in the Kirov region. A similar push took place in Krasnodar.

Five acts of vandalism motivated by hate or neo-Nazi ideology brought the total of such acts in 2012 to 29.

German supporters also threw screwed up paper at Portugal's players and let off a smoke bomb in the stands. The next day was even more dramatic, as Poland, Ireland and Croatia fans had a fight in Poznan, four Russia fans smashed a Wroclaw bar, a Croatia fan invaded the pitch while others set off fireworks and threw objects during Croatia's match against Ireland, and the Italian hero Mario Balotelli was subjected to a tirade of racist abuse from around 300 Spanish fans during Italy's 1-1 draw with Spain.

Yet, if 10 June was dramatic, day 5 of the tournament was, perhaps, the most gruesome. Several massive fights between Poland and Russia fans took place on 12 June; in the majority of incidents it was Polish hooligans who attacked the Russians. The ugliest fight, however, was partly provoked by Russia fans themselves: in the wake of their country's match against Poland, thousands of Russians marched on Warsaw's Poniatowski Bridge to mark Russia Day – an act considered provocative by some Poles whose country endured decades of a Soviet-inspired authoritarian regime. Police were forced to fire warning shots and use water canon to break up the fighting, and more than 180 hooligans from both sides of the conflict were arrested.

Violence declined after day 5, but racism and nationalism persisted. On 14 June, Italy's Mario Balotelli was again subjected to racist abuse, but this time monkey chanting came from Croatia fans during the 1-1 draw between Italy and Croatia in Poznan. The fact that Balotelli (who was born to Ghanaian immigrants) apparently became the main object of abuse at the tournament once again proves the cowardly nature of racism: Balotelli was one of the best players during Euro 2012, and by monkey chants racists wanted to disturb and unsettle him, but they ultimately failed.

On 16 June, Russia fans "distinguished" themselves again, as they set off and threw fireworks, as well as displaying illicit banners, during their country's match against Greece. The next day, Germany fans held a neo-Nazi banner during a match against Denmark, while on 18 June racist banners were displayed by Croatia fans at their country's match against Spain. In each of these cases, UEFA opened disciplinary proceedings. This seemed to have helped, as the level of racism and violence decreased after several countries had been fined by UEFA. On 18 June, Croatian and Polish hooligans clashed in Gdansk ahead of their countries' match (one Pole was injured in the fight and three Croats were arrested), but no major incident was reported after that. Some England fans vandalised a tree in the centre of Kyiv before the country's match against Italy on 24 June, but in general they behaved quite reasonably while in Ukraine.

This, unfortunately, cannot be said about the behaviour of approximately 150 English hooligans in Bedford, who – after England had lost to Italy on penalties – decided to work off their bad temper on Italian supporters who had gathered in Russell Park. The English hooligans caused damage to a number of vehicles, but Bedfordshire Police largely managed to prevent them from confronting Italian fans. One person was arrested for assault, while two were held for criminal damage.

Despite the racist and violent incidents in Poland and Ukraine, UEFA president Michel Platini hailed the tournament as a "resounding success" after Euro 2012 ended with Spain's 4-0 win over Italy in the final.

Russia and Poland fans clash in Warsaw

The main targets were ideological monuments and Jehovah's Witness buildings – 13 and 7 cases respectively.

Three trials resulted in convictions for racially aggravated violence in the Voronezhsky, Kostromsky and Orlovsky regions. Sixteen people were sentenced: 13 received various terms of imprisonment, two were sentenced to compulsory labour and one to correctional labour. The most notable was the sentence of a member of the ultra-rightist group "Orlovsky Partisans".

Since January, at least 25 people have been convicted for racist violence. One was sentenced to life imprisonment, 25 to imprisonment, four received suspended sentences, three were sentenced to compulsory labour, one to correctional labour, and one was exempted from punishment "in connection with the parties' reconciliation".

Eight people were convicted for xenophobic propaganda, in Moscow, the Orlovsky region and the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania. They include ultra-rightists from the "Orlovsky Partisans" group who were convicted of violence, possession of articles for propaganda and distributing leaflets. In the first 6 months of 2012, there were 37 convictions for racist propaganda, amounting to 56 people in 30 regions.

The Federal List of Extremist Materials was amended four times, adding 73 pages. Most of the updates cover Islamic materials, including video footage of militants calling for a military jihad and performing on-camera, comments from forums, and xenophobic material including brochures from the Russian All-National Union and the Minin and Pozharsky Citizen Militia, new books written by A Dobrovolsky (Dobroslawa) a song by the band Kolovrat, articles by the blogger Ogurtsovaya about conflict in the "Don" children's camp, and a painting by Alexander Savko from the "Forbidden Art 2006" exhibition.

International Brigaders remembered

By **Daphne Liddle**

OVER 100 PEOPLE gathered in Jubilee Gardens on London's South Bank on Saturday 7 July at the memorial to the International Brigaders to commemorate the 76th anniversary of the start of the Spanish war against fascism and dedicate a new plaque.

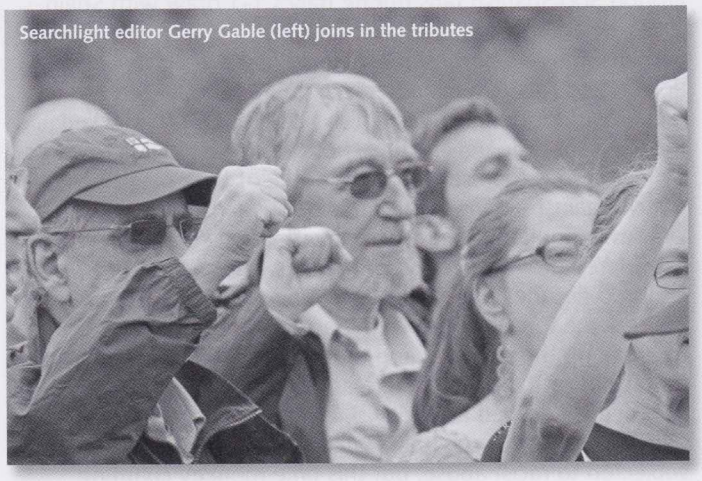
Among them was David Solomon, London's last surviving member of the International Brigades – the army of volunteers who went to Spain from 1936 to 1939 to help the people defend their elected Republican government against a military rising led by the fascist General Francisco Franco and his Army of Africa recruited in Morocco, which was backed by Hitler and Mussolini.

Outwardly the governments of Britain and France preached a policy of non-intervention and Hitler and Mussolini supplied arms, troops and aircraft to Franco. But behind the scenes British upper class right-wing mercenaries, spies and adventurers also played a big role in helping to launch Franco's invasion.

There were speeches from members of the International Brigades Association and its Spanish equivalent, who presented David Solomon with a commemorative banner.

Many organisations and individuals laid wreaths at the memorial, including three from trade unions. There was music from Spanish guitarist and singer Paco Marin, folk singer Ewan McLennan and folk duo Na-Mara. Performance poet Francesca Beard also paid tribute to the Brigaders.

After the wreath-laying and the speeches David Solomon unveiled a new plaque at the foot of the memorial, dedicated to those who gave their lives in Spain in the fight against fascism.

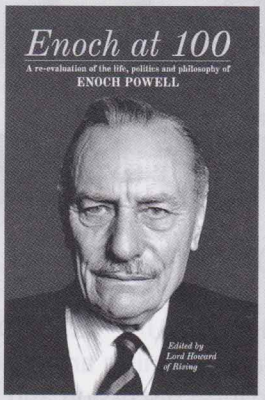


Searchlight editor Gerry Gable (left) joins in the tributes

David Lomon (formerly Solomon) receives a commemorative banner from Spanish comrades

Enoch at 100:

A Re-Evaluation of the Life, Politics and Philosophy of Enoch Powell,



Reviewed by **Adam Carter**

Edited by Lord Howard of Rising (Biteback Publishing, 2012) Hardcover 352pp. £25

PROMPTED BY THE centenary of Enoch Powell's birth, a wide-ranging collection featuring multiple perspectives that looked anew at his life, politics and philosophy would have been a valuable book. Unfortunately this disappointing collection of essays and speeches – with a few honourable exceptions – does not try to reassess Powell in any meaningful way. Instead it seeks merely to reassert the conventional wisdom from a narrow section of the Tory right that Powell, blessed with his erudition, oratory and a profound classical education, deserves to be recognised as a genius whose proclamations on race and immigration, free market economics, sovereignty and Euroscepticism mark him out as a visionary and prophet: as the great lost leader.

The book is edited by Lord Greville Howard, who is an old Etonian, a former secretary to Enoch Powell and a Conservative politician. In his 'Editor's Note' Lord Howard claims that "it was never intended to be a hagiography" but the contributions consistently contradict this and the book is stifling in its general lack of dissension and debate. The book's central problem is that nearly all the contributions are from right-wingers who are incredibly sympathetic to Powell and have no genuine desire to reassess or censure him. The fawning introduction is by former Tory leader Iain Duncan Smith who declares blithely, "I do not believe Enoch Powell was a racist; such a concept could never have been tolerated in such a rational mind as his". The contributors include Lord Nicholas True (a Tory peer), The Right Honourable Lord Forsyth of Drumlean (a Tory peer), Simon Heffer (*Daily Mail* columnist and author of a valuable but incredibly sympathetic biography of Powell), Professor Roger Scruton (conservative philosopher), Dr Andrew Roberts (right-wing historian), Andrew Alexander (*Daily Mail* journalist), Richard Ritchie (archivist for Powell), Lord Lexden (official historian of the Conservative Party), Frank Field (a Labour MP who long ago lurched to the right) and, er, Anne Robinson (controversial TV presenter) whose 'personal recollection' is an embarrassing interlude in an otherwise sober account.

Given this line up, it is hardly surprising that no matter what the issue under analysis – constitutional reform, the European Union, defence and foreign policy, the nation state, the environment or Northern Ireland etc – Powell is uniformly praised despite the evident contradictions in his positions, which often changed significantly over time. In addition Powell's opinions are occasionally appropriated and updated by the contributors to attack David Cameron and the contemporary Conservative Party. The book therefore becomes entirely predictable and stuffy, with the inherent bias of most of its contributors failing to provide the objective analysis which Lord Howard had promised.

Despite these evident limitations, there are some sections worth reading: Powell's widow provides some interesting background in an interview (her first on record), Margaret Mountford (better known as adviser to Sir Alan Sugar on *The Apprentice*) has an intriguing chapter on Powell's classical education, while Lord Norton of Louth provides a decent potted biography. Heffer's chapter on the economy I found one of the most absorbing as Powell's influence on the monetarism which characterised Thatcherism is often understated. But Heffer's conclusions once again speak to a pre-determined agenda: "The twenty one years between 1958 and 1979 had been a grim episode in British economic history," Heffer portentously claims thereby ignoring the fact that these were largely years of sustained growth according to most economic indicators and that the Thatcher economic years, far from being a golden age, were disastrous for millions of ordinary working people – the very same ordinary working people for whom Powell claimed to be speaking up in the "Rivers of Blood" speech. If the chapter were really a 're-evaluation', perhaps it could have considered how the very same economic policies advocated by Powell which Heffer presumably endorses – deregulation, minimal state intervention in the financial sector, a belief that the market self-regulates etc – were major factors in the post-2008 economic crash.

The question of race and immigration is covered in a chapter by the veteran investigative journalist and author Tom Bower who provides pretty much the sole dissenting voice in the volume. But it is also a balanced and well-researched piece which, while not hesitating to criticise Powell's outspoken views on race and the flaws in his arguments – "Powell made the charge of racism against him plausible by categorising even the blacks born in England as immigrants" – also provides some informative political context. It's the best chapter in the book and enforces the sense that this is a missed opportunity. It would have been a much stronger book had the editors had the nerve to include more writers who were prepared to question Saint Enoch rather than relying so heavily on those already favourable towards him. (I couldn't help wondering what A Sivanandan or Laurie Penny or Jonathan Freedland or Eric Hobsbawm would have written instead.)

In one passage, Bower writes of Powell: "Among Conservatives he was speaking to the converted but his sentiments were not transmitted to a wider audience," and that's an apt summary of this flawed book.

Celebrating trade unionism in Tolpuddle

By **Sonia Gable**

THE ANNUAL TOLPUDDLE Martyrs festival celebrates trade unionism and solidarity over a weekend of political discussion and speeches, entertainment, music and the festival highlight: a procession of thousands of marchers through the village of Tolpuddle, carrying a wide range of trade union banners and accompanied by bands and singers.

We were pleased that many of the festival participants visited *Searchlight's* stall at this year's festival on 14-15 July, which was in the marquee alongside stalls from trade unions, local branches of left-wing, green and animal rights organisations, and others.

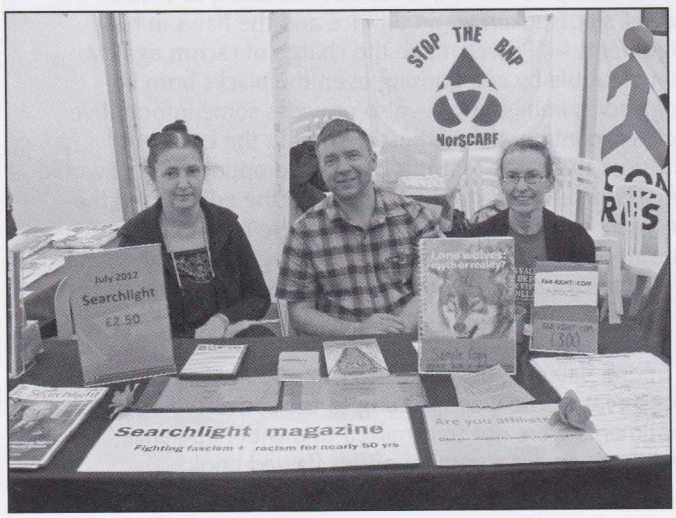
The festival commemorates and is inspired by the sacrifice made by the six workers from Tolpuddle in Dorset who formed a trade union to protest about their exploitation pay of six shillings (£0.30) a week and their third wage cut in three years. Landowners were determined to stamp out any workers' self-organisation and so members of the union swore an oath of secrecy. It was this act, held to be illegal, that led to the men's arrest in February 1834 and their subsequent sentence of seven years' transportation to Australia, a brutal punishment from which few ever returned.

In prison, one of the six, George Loveless, wrote: "We raise the watchword, liberty. We will, we will, we will be free!" This rallying call underlined the Martyrs' determination and has since served to inspire generations of people to fight against injustice and oppression.

After the sentence was pronounced, the working class rose up in support of the Martyrs. A massive demonstration marched through London and an 800,000-strong petition was delivered to Parliament protesting about their sentence.

After three years, during which the trade union movement sustained the Martyrs' families by collecting voluntary donations, the government relented and the men returned home with free pardons and as heroes.

Former Labour Cabinet Minister Tony Benn, 87, outgoing TUC general-secretary Brendan Barber and the Labour MPs Angela and Maria Eagle head the march as it returns to Tolpuddle



Crowds listen to the speeches after the march

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TUFS WORKING PEOPLE AGAINST FASCISM

TUC

Trades Union Congress 2012

Trade Union Friends of Searchlight fringe meeting
Fighting Fascism On All Fronts
Tuesday 11 September 2012 5.20-7.00pm
Old Ship Hotel, Kings Road, Brighton BN1 1NR
(a few minutes from the Brighton Centre, on the seafront)

Speakers

Leonard Zeskind, award-winning US author, leading US expert on the far right and Director of the Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights

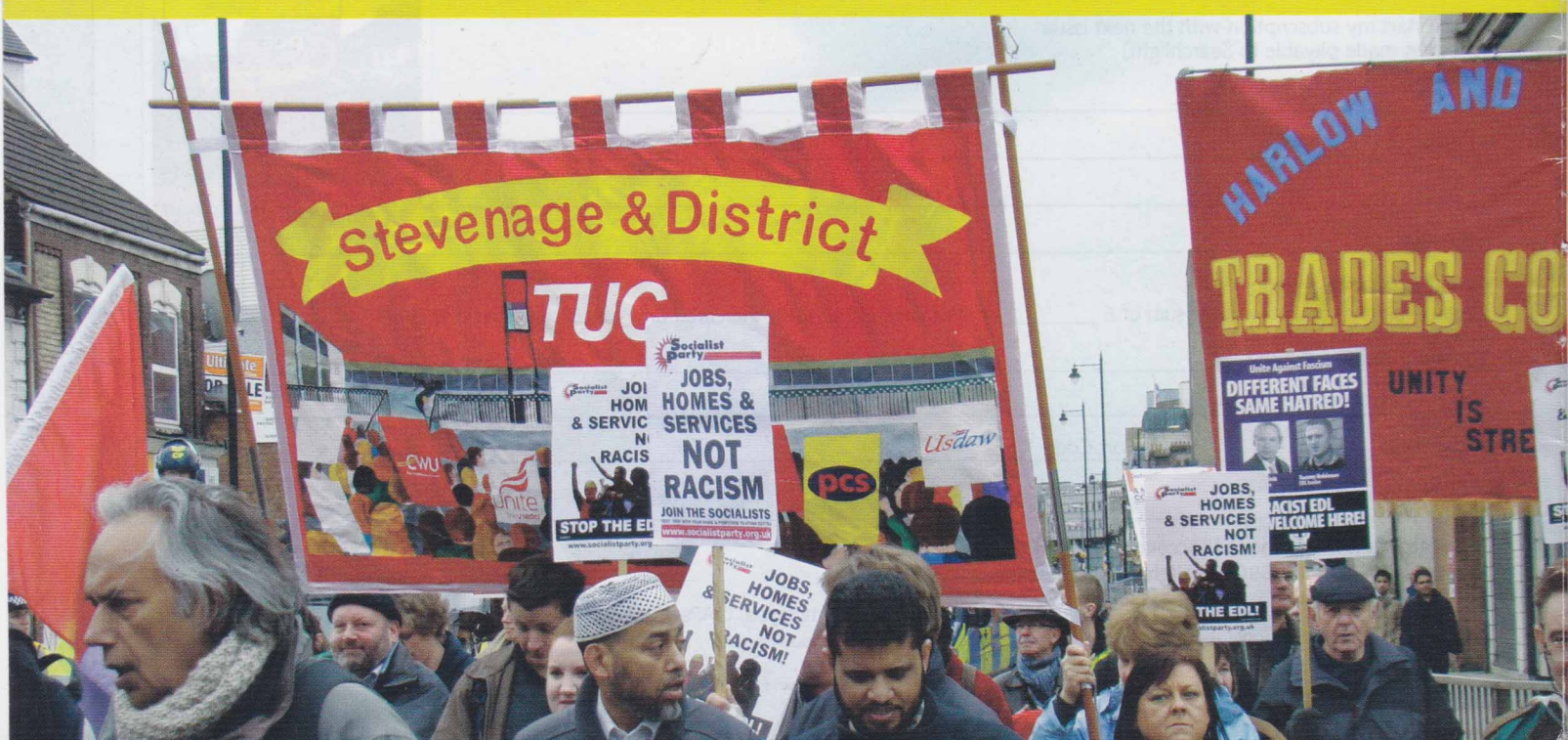
Megan Dobney, Regional Secretary SERTUC

Steve Hart, National Chair Unite Against Fascism and Political Director of Unite the Union

Dominic Byrne, NUT Executive Member and Divisional Secretary for Barking and Dagenham

Bob Crow, General Secretary RMT

Chaired by Cathy Pound, Searchlight TU Liaison Officer

Trade Union Friends of Searchlight welcomes delegates and friends to our stall at TUC 2012 in Brighton 9-12 September

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